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PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

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His Holiness Cyril V., Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria.

CHRISTIAN EGYPT,

Past, Present, and Future.

BY THE

REV. MONTAGUE FOWLER, M.A.

Author of "Some Notable Archbishops of Canterbury," "Church History in Queen Victoria's Reign," &c.

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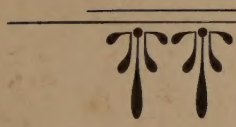

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PREFACE.

THE present volume has been prepared with a view to placing, within easy reach of all classes of English-speaking people, a simple historical retrospect of the Christian Church in Egypt; to which is added much statistical matter that has been collected with considerable labour, and is now published for the first time.

Among the annually-increasing number of visitors to Egypt during the winter months, there must be many who would gladly possess, within a reasonable compass, an account of the work that is being done for Christ in the midst of the millions of Mohammedans, who form nine-tenths of the population of the Nile valley north of the Soudan. This they have hitherto been unable to obtain, without the not inconsiderable labour involved in visiting the headquarters of the various missions, and obtaining from each the information they require. It is hoped that the facts here set forth may not only be useful for the purpose of satisfying a natural curiosity, but may be the means of stimulating a keener interest than is usually taken in the religious work that is being carried on in Egypt, by oriental, as well as by western, Christians.

Those who are accustomed to work at the British Museum, or at the Bodleian Library, where the courtesy of the officials places at their disposal every conceivable source of information, can form but little idea of the difficulties of obtaining reliable facts in oriental countries. Either the

records are non-existent; or the material is contained in manuscript volumes which are not accessible to a stranger; or the official, who alone can give permission for the documents to be copied, is away, and his return uncertain.

The following incident will serve as an illustration, and at the same time will furnish an excuse for deficiencies in this work, of which I am only too well aware. Being unable to secure an accurate list of the Abunas (or Metropolitans) of the Abyssinian Church, I applied to Cyril, the Coptic Patriarch, for permission to copy the names and dates from the official documents at the Patriarchate. He told me that no record of the Abunas has been kept at Cairo, but that he would write to the Metropolitan of Abyssinia, who would no doubt send me the information. After the lapse of several months, I wrote again. The Patriarch promptly replied, through Simaika Bey, to the effect that he had received no response to his letter; but that this caused him no surprise, as he did not trust the postal arrangements. For himself, he said, whenever he had any communication of importance to make to the Bishops of Abyssinia, he invariably despatched it by a pilgrim, who waited until the answer was ready. While I was pondering over the advisability of employing this primitive post, I was relieved of the necessity for coming to a decision, by the information that no pilgrims were expected to leave Cairo for Abyssinia before the following spring. It will thus be seen that the conditions of civilisation in Abyssinia present formidable barriers to the acquisition of historical facts.

The Church of Abyssinia, which is a semi-independent branch of the Coptic Church, has had a romantic, and in many respects a tragic, history. The records available to the student in Europe are meagre and inaccurate in the extreme. Whether careful investigation in Ethiopia itself, and an examination of any ancient manuscripts that may have been preserved in the churches and monasteries, would

open out fields of knowledge that have remained hitherto unexplored, or whether the records of this ancient Church have, for the most part, been irrevocably lost, it is impossible to say. Unfortunately, the disturbed condition of the country, and the expense of providing the necessary escort (without which the Government would not have sanctioned the expedition), prevented me from extending my journey to Abyssinia for this purpose. But, as the story (even in outline) of this interesting branch of the Catholic Church is not so universally known as it ought to be, a brief sketch of the vicissitudes through which it has passed is given in this volume, together with certain details that, although scanty, will be new to some of my readers.

In addition to the two ancient Churches of Egypt—the Coptic Church which, claiming to be the direct descendant of the Church founded by St. Mark, was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, and the Greek (Melchite) Church, which is in full communion with the Orthodox Eastern Church—there are various Christian bodies represented in Egypt. An attempt has been made, in the following pages, to give a simple account of the inauguration, history, and present position of these various "missions." The work and organization of the Church of England in Egypt claims, perhaps, a somewhat fuller account than that of the Roman Catholics, or of the Nonconformists—not only on account of the position which Great Britain occupies in regard to that country, but because of the increasing influence of the Anglican Church from Alexandria to Assouan, and of the cordial sympathy and confidence subsisting between her and the ancient Churches of the land. The records and statistics are, wherever possible, taken from the reports issued by the different bodies, and may therefore be accepted as accurate and authentic.

The foundation of an independent Anglican Bishopric in Egypt is one of the most important developments of Church

work that has taken place for some years. The share which I was permitted to take in the negotiations that have resulted in the establishment of this North African See (to further which project I visited Egypt last winter), has enabled me to give a full description of the difficulties that have been surmounted, together with various original documents, which have never hitherto been published.[1]

Of the many treatises on Egypt that have made their appearance during the last quarter of a century, the two most noteworthy, which deal historically with the ancient Christianity of the country, are: (1) *The Story of the Church of Egypt*, by Mrs. Butcher, which is not only deserving of the highest praise as a model of accuracy and research, but is the first authoritative statement of the rightful position that the Coptic Church occupies in the religious history of the country. So highly is the result of Mrs. Butcher's labours appreciated, that the Coptic ecclesiastical authorities have recently issued the book in Arabic, and it is being widely circulated. (2) *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, by A. J. Butler. This admirable work is an exhaustive account of all the principal churches and monasteries belonging to the Copts, with a minute description of their customs, liturgies, vestments, and other matters of similar interest. To both authors I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness.

My thanks are due to many who have helped me, in various ways, in the preparation of this volume. Among them I would specially mention—Lord Cromer, for permission to use some of the most interesting facts and documents relating to the Egyptian Bishopric; Cyril V., the Coptic Patriarch, for much useful information; Sir Francis Wingate, the Sirdar, for the plan of Khartoum which is here reproduced; Lieutenant-Colonel Drage, and

[1] See pp. 260-269.

Sarapamoun, Bishop of Khartoum, for many details about the condition of the Copts in the Soudan; Dean Butcher, for his valuable assistance in many ways; the Rev. E. J. Davis, and Mr. Socrates Spero, who obtained for me a number of statistics of the Greek Church which were very difficult to secure; Simaika Bey, whose acquaintance with all that pertains to the Coptic Church has been forthcoming whenever it has been asked for; and the Rev. Wm. Houghton, for placing at my disposal his knowledge of the Nonconformist missions in Egypt. I am also indebted to the Rev. J. Rice Byrne for his suggestions, and for revising the proof-sheets.

I am able to give, as a frontispiece, the only existing portrait of the present Coptic Patriarch, Cyril V., with an Arabic inscription of greeting and goodwill, signed by himself, which he presented to me when I took leave of him in Cairo.

In the hope that the following facts about Christianity in Egypt, past and present, may be helpful and instructive to many, and may tend, in however slight a degree, to promote that unity among the followers of Jesus Christ for which our Saviour so earnestly prayed, I send forth the result of my labours.

THE AUTHOR.

All Hallows, London Wall,
New Year's Day, 1901.

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BOOK I.

HISTORY OF THE COPTIC CHURCH

AND THE

CHURCH OF ABYSSINIA.

"*The Lord shall smite Egypt; He shall smite and heal it.*"—ISA. xix. 22.

CHAPTER I.

The Dawn of Christianity in Egypt.

THE Coptic Church is the name by which the ancient Christian Church of Egypt, comprised within the Patriarchate of Alexandria, is generally known at the present day. The derivation of the term Copt is somewhat obscure, and it is impossible to state with absolute certainty the exact source from which it sprang. Some authorities regard it as a corruption of αἴγυπτος, the Greek word for Egypt, while others, equally reliable, consider that it is taken from Coptos, the title of a city in Upper Egypt (about thirty miles north of Thebes, and 420 miles from Cairo), which, though now comparatively unknown, was once a large town of considerable political and commercial importance.[1] Its present name is Kuft.

When the Apostles and disciples, immediately after the Ascension of our Blessed Lord had been followed by the outpouring of the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost, were dispersed into different countries—carrying out their Master's farewell command that they were to "go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature"—it fell to the lot of St. Mark the Evangelist (who, according to St. Jerome, was the disciple and interpreter of St. Peter) to accompany that Apostle to Rome, and afterwards to proclaim the message of salvation in Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia.

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[1] See Lane's "Modern Egyptians," vol. ii. p. 274.

There has been considerable controversy among historians as to whether St. Mark the Evangelist should be identified with John Mark, the nephew of St. Barnabas, who is mentioned on several occasions in the Acts of the Apostles. The whole question turns on the accuracy of the chronology at our disposal. So far as we can gather from the various authorities, St. Mark's mission dates from A.D. 37, and the founding of the Church of Alexandria may be fixed at about the year A.D. 40.[1] According to Eusebius[2] and St. Jerome,[3] the martyrdom of St. Mark took place in the eighth year of the reign of Nero—*i.e.*, A.D. 61-62. Now, according to the narrative in the Acts of the Apostles, John Mark accompanied St. Paul and St. Barnabas in A.D. 43 or 44; he was with St. Paul at Rome in A.D. 62 or 63,[4] and was summoned by the Apostle as late as A.D. 65.[5] Under these circumstances, the balance of probability is in favour of regarding the Evangelist and John Mark as two different persons.

However this may be, universal tradition both of East and West[6] has connected St. Mark the Evangelist with the foundation of the Church of Alexandria. At the same time, we have ample testimony to the fact that the Gospel had been preached in Egypt before his arrival. At the period when our Lord was accomplishing His earthly ministry, the city of Alexandria was second only to Rome in political importance, and was perhaps even greater in its commercial prosperity. Among those present at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, some of whom were probably converted by St. Peter's sermon, were "dwellers . . . in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene"[7]; several of those who disputed with St. Stephen were Jews of Alex-

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[1] Chronicon Alexandrinum.
[2] H.E. ii. 24.
[3] De Script. Eccl.
[4] Philemon, 24.
[5] 2 Tim. iv. 11.
[6] Euseb. H.E. ii. 16.
[7] Acts, ii. 10.

andria[1]; Apollos was born there[2]; while trading vessels from that port bore a prominent share in the voyages of St. Paul.[3] Besides these indications that at least some echo of the faith might have been carried to Alexandria, we know that the chamberlain of Candace, Queen of the Ethiopians, to whom Philip the deacon expounded the Scriptures with such success that he sought admission to the Church through Holy Baptism,[4] must have passed through Egypt on his return to his own country.

To resume our account of the mission of St. Mark. According to Egyptian tradition, he was a native of Pentapolis; he was one of the Seventy; he was a servant on the occasion of the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee, at which Christ turned the water into wine; he was the man whom the Apostles met, carrying a pitcher of water, before the Last Supper; it was in his house that Jesus celebrated the Passover; and it was in his house, also, that the Apostles met, secretly for fear of the Jews, after the Resurrection, when the Saviour appeared to them. It appears probable, however, that, for several years subsequent to the birth of the Christian Church on the day of Pentecost, he preached in Jerusalem and the neighbouring villages, particularly in Bethany, and that his mission work in Egypt commenced about the year A.D. 40.

His first convert in Alexandria was a shoemaker, Hananias (or Annianus), whom, after preaching the Gospel with great success, and arousing much opposition among the pagan inhabitants, he ordained, in A.D. 44, to be Bishop of the new Church, with three priests and seven deacons as his assistants. The Evangelist then travelled to Jerusalem, and shortly afterwards accompanied St. Peter to Rome, where, under the direction of the Apostle, he wrote his

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1 Acts vi. 9.
2 Acts xviii. 24.
3 Acts xxvii. 6, and xxviii. 11.
4 Acts viii. 38.

Gospel, probably in Greek, though the Egyptian tradition maintains (without any authority) that the original was in the Coptic language.

Towards the end of A.D. 49, St. Mark returned to Egypt, where he laboured indefatigably, and with no small results, until his death. The first Christian church in that country was erected by him at Baucalis, on the sea-shore near Alexandria. Beyond this, we have practically no details of the Evangelist's work, save the fact that the progress made by the Gospel was so great as to arouse the hatred and vengeance of the Egyptians against the preacher of the faith; and that, in consequence of the denunciation by St. Mark of the forthcoming Festival in honour of Serapis, as being idolatrous and impious, he was dragged through the town by a rope tied round his neck, and thus suffered martyrdom on Sunday, April 25, A.D. 63. He was buried in the church at Baucalis, and for many centuries the election of the Patriarchs took place by the side of his tomb.

Eutychius, who was Patriarch of Alexandria in the tenth century, tells us[1] that when St. Mark, before his death, made Hananias Patriarch, he also ordained twelve presbyters to remain with the Patriarch; so that, when the chair should become vacant, they might elect one of their number, on whose head the other eleven presbyters should lay their hands, give him benediction, and constitute him Patriarch; and should, after this, choose some other man to supply the place of the promoted presbyter, so that the presbytery should always consist of twelve. This custom was continued until the patriarchate of Alexander, who was one of the three hundred and eighteen.[2] It was he who first forbade the presbyters to appoint the Patriarch, and decreed that, on a vacancy of the See, the neighbouring Bishops should choose an excellent man of approved behaviour,

[1] Eutych. ad loc., p. 331 sq.

[2] i.e., one of those who attended the Council of Nicæa, 325 A.D.

either from among the presbyters or from among others, and make him Patriarch.

This passage has, naturally, been made the most of by the Presbyterian bodies of the present day, and has been put forward as an unimpeachable authority for their system of Church government. But the explanation is comparatively simple. As has been mentioned above, the original constitution of the Church of Alexandria comprised three priests and seven deacons. When St. Mark returned to Egypt, after accompanying St. Peter to Rome, he found the number of the faithful so much increased as to call for the establishment of a college of Bishops. Now, this may well have been spoken of as a body of presbyters, in accordance with the custom which prevailed in the early Church, by which the terms Bishop and Presbyter were used synonymously. We see this exemplified in the case of the elders (presbyters) of Miletus, whom St. Paul called together, warning them to take heed unto the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers (bishops)[1]. Hence we may conclude that what Eutychius describes was really an episcopal body, appointed and ordained by St. Mark, and that these Bishops, for upwards of a century, governed the Church jointly, so that it was not divided into districts, each with its own diocesan, until a later date.

From the time of Hananias, who was appointed in A.D. 62, to that of Demetrius, the twelfth from St. Mark (A.D. 189), the Patriarchs of Alexandria were called Papa, or Pope[2].

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[1] cf. Acts xx. 17 with 28.

[2] The title Pope was, from very early times, given to all the Patriarchs of the Catholic Church. Its first known application to the Bishop of Rome occurs in the letter of a deacon, Severus, to Marcellinus (296 to 304 A.D.). It was formally adopted by Siricius (384 to 398 A.D.), and has been officially used by the Bishops of Rome since Leo I. (440 to 461 A.D.). It was not, however, until six hundred years later, viz., by Gregory VII. (1073 to 1085 A.D.), that the term was declared to be the exclusive title of the Pope of Rome.

Eutychius describes the origin of the name in the Egyptian Church in the following manner[1]. One of the twenty Bishops whom Heraclas created, named Ammonius, having in some manner transgressed the Canons, the Patriarch visited his diocese to restore order. The people heard their Bishops address him as "Abba" (father), and reasoned thus: If we call the Bishop Father, and he calls Heraclas Father, then the Patriarch must be our grandfather, "Baba"—whence the term "Papa."

Hananias, the successor of St. Mark in the Patriarchate (A.D. 62), was, according to Eusebius,[2] "a man beloved of God, and admirable in all things." He presided over the See for twenty-two years, during which time the number of the faithful increased considerably; and his memory was long held in veneration by the Egyptians.

He was succeeded, in A.D. 82, by Abilius,[3] whose tenure of the Patriarchate was contemporary with the reigns of Nero and Domitian, though the persecutions under those rulers do not appear to have extended to Egypt. It was during the thirteen years of his occupancy of the See that St. John the Evangelist fled from the Isle of Patmos and reached Ephesus, where he wrote his Gospel, and shortly afterwards died.

Abilius was succeeded, in A.D. 95, by Cerdo[4], who was one of the presbyters ordained by St. Mark. He presided over the diocese for nine years, and tradition states that he suffered martyrdom under Trajan. The persecution of the Christians by the Emperor Hadrian[5] was felt with terrible

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[1] Eutych. i. 332.

[2] Euseb. H.E. ii. 24.

[3] So Eusebius. The Coptic writers call him Miloi; the Arabs, Melianus; while Eutychius names him Philetius.

[4] Called Gardius by Eutychius (i. 332).

[5] Eutychius dates the persecution in the fifteenth year of Domitian.

severity in Alexandria, multitudes of them being put to death, while others were sold as slaves.

PRIMUS,[1] who was previously a layman, was advanced to the patriarchate, on the death of Cerdo, A.D. 106, in recognition of the angelical purity of his life.[2] It was during his episcopate, which lasted twelve years, that a rebellion arose, on the part of the Jews of Egypt and Cyrene, against the pagans, whom they massacred without mercy, and drove within the walls of Alexandria. When the latter at length gained the mastery, they retaliated with equal fury, and the Church suffered severely in consequence. About the same period Hadrian personally visited Egypt and decimated the Christians, besides demolishing all the churches in Jerusalem.

JUSTUS[3] was the next Patriarch (A.D. 118), a man who was good and wise, and beloved of God. According to the traditions of the Ethiopian Church, he was baptized by the Evangelist.

EUMENIUS[4] succeeded Justus in A.D. 129. At this time Hadrian again visited Egypt, when he restored Pompey's Pillar (which is still standing at Alexandria), and attended the apotheosis of his favourite Antinous. In a letter written to the Consul Servianus in the year A.D. 134, the Emperor thus speaks of the country: "This Egypt, which you so extolled to me, I find utterly frivolous, wavering, and flying after every change of rumour. They who worship Serapis are Christians, and some who call themselves Bishops of Christ are devoted to Serapis. . . . The very Patriarch himself, when he came into Egypt, is maintained by some to

[1] So Eusebius (H.E. iv. 4); but Eastern writers call him Abrimius, and Papebrochius gives his real name as Ephrem.

[2] Severus ap. Renaudot, p. 16.

[3] Euseb. (H.E. iv. 4). Nicephorus calls him Justinus.

[4] Eusebius (H.E. iv. 11) calls him Eumenes.

have worshipped Serapis, by others Christ. . . . That one God of theirs is no god; Him the Christians, Him the Jews, Him even all the Gentiles venerate."

From this letter it appears that Christianity had already penetrated into the Alexandrian schools, where the favourite dogma was that all religions worshipped the same God. The Emperor rightly ridiculed the idea of a universal Deity under a variety of names, and he went on to assert that the Serapians worshipped Christ, and the Christians Serapis. He founded this statement on the fact that the Gnostics at Alexandria had actually commenced to teach this monstrous doctrine.

A brief digression may be made here on the subject of *Gnosticism*. Though Simon Magus is credited with being the founder of the heresy, it may rather be regarded as the system of philosophy prevalent at the time, leavened by a slight infusion of Judaism, and a still slighter trace of Christianity. It had its origin in Alexandria, in the Platonic philosophy which had supplanted the coarser forms of ancient Egyptian superstition. The influence on the Platonists of the Old Testament Scriptures, and the readiness with which they welcomed the desire of the Jews to harmonise their creed with many of the speculations of Plato, led to a compromise between the two systems. To this were added some of the fantastic theories of Orientalism, derived from the Persian doctrines, and the amalgamation of these irreconcilable elements issued in Gnosticism.

One of its principal tenets, which was learned from Plato, maintained that matter was independent of the Deity, and, like him, existed from eternity. The idea, that several orders of spiritual beings were interposed between God and the human race, was held in common by Jews and Platonists, the angels of the former corresponding to the demons of the latter. From Orientalism the Gnostics derived their

love of magic, and also their belief in the malignant genii, the Æons, who were always opposing the beneficent actions of the Supreme Being.

When this system came in contact with Christianity, it was found essential to explain away much that would necessarily have been condemned in Gnosticism by the teaching of Christ and His followers. Accordingly, while admitting that Jesus proceeded from God, and was sent to reveal the true God to mankind, and that He performed some wonderful miracles, it was maintained that His body was a phantom, and that He neither was born, nor suffered on the cross. Thus the doctrines of the Atonement and the Resurrection were denied. Among the later developments of Gnosticism were the Docetæ and the Ebionites. Although the heresy was universally condemned by the primitive Church, it attained considerable proportions, and wrought a vast amount of mischief, until its errors were gradually dispelled before the brightness of the Gospel light.

The successors of Eumenius in the patriarchate were Marcian[1] (A.D. 142); Celadion,[2] of whom nothing is known save that he was beloved by his flock (A.D. 152); and Agrippinus[3] (A.D. 166). During his episcopate, the patriarchs of all the other metropolitan cities came to an agreement concerning the reckoning of the Christian Passover, and the season of their fast, and arranged how it was to be computed, taking the Coptic reckoning as their basis of calculation. They decided that the Festival of Easter should be observed on the day of the Jewish Passover, holding that it was on that day that Jesus rose from the dead.

Up to this point, our information about the patriarchs of

[1] Eusebius (H.E. iv. 6) calls him Mark, but he was probably called Marcian by the Egyptians out of reverence to the Evangelist. No Alexandrian patriarch bore the name of Mark until the ninth century.

[2] Called Celasdianus in the Coptic Index.

[3] Eusebius (H.E. iv. 19).

the early Church in Alexandria is very meagre, and is confused by traditions of greater or less value. Hereafter, our historical authorities are fuller and more reliable.

Julian (A.D. 178) succeeded Agrippinus, and held the See for ten years. An Egyptian legend states that, when on his death-bed, Julian was informed by an angel that the man who should, on the following day, bring him a present of grapes, was to be Patriarch in his stead. On the morrow a countryman, married, who could neither read nor write, made his appearance on the predicted errand. This was Demetrius (A.D. 189), who was so unwilling to receive the proffered dignity that he had to be ordained by force. He immediately applied himself to the study of the Scriptures, and became one of the most learned prelates of his day, just as he was famed for the holiness of his life. When he had been Patriarch for fourteen years, Severus raised a terrible persecution against the Christians, himself visiting Alexandria, where, having destroyed the churches, he erected a temple for his idols. Among those that suffered marytrdom at this time were Philip, Prefect of Egypt, who, with his wife and daughter, had been converted to the faith, and Leonidas, father of the famous Origen.

A brief sketch of the life of *Origen* must be here given. Educated in the Catechetical School of Alexandria, under Pantænus and Clemens, he appears to have formed a friendship with Alexander, afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem (who, in later years, incurred the displeasure of Demetrius by ordaining Origen priest), and also to have attended the lectures of Ammonius, from which he imbibed the spirit of Platonic philosophy that is traceable in his writings. When the persecution broke out, Origen was eager to join the ranks of the martyrs, but was not denounced, though the whole family was reduced to poverty.

When, after the death of Pantænus, Clemens, who succeeded to the management of the Catechetical School, retired, Origen, then only eighteen years of age, was appointed in his place. He devoted himself to the study of theology, and practised the most rigid asceticism. Later on, he associated Heraclas[1] with himself in the educational work which he had undertaken. His lectures were widely attended, by heathen and heretics as well as by Christians, and were the means of making many converts to the Faith.

Later on, he visited Palestine, where he was well received, and, out of respect to his learning and character, was invited by the Bishops of Palestine to preach in their churches. This drew a remonstrance from Demetrius, as Origen was only in deacon's orders, and it was regarded as uncanonical and irregular for any but a priest to speak in the presence of his bishop. At the request of Demetrius, Origen returned to Egypt, and occupied himself with his Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures.

In the year A.D. 228 we find that, in spite of the protests of the Patriarch, Origen was ordained to the priesthood by Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem. Demetrius was so indignant that, on Origen's return to Alexandria, he assembled a Council, before which he laid the facts of the irregularity of the ordination, and a series of errors contained in Origen's writings. After a careful enquiry, the Council unanimously condemned the extracts submitted to them, and, by virtue of the decision of a subsequent Council, Demetrius, with the consent of the rest of the Bishops, deposed and excommunicated Origen. The latter lived to see his former friend and colleague, Heraclas, ascend the Patriarchal throne, and, after suffering great persecution for the faith, died at Tyre in the year A.D. 253, at the age of sixty-nine.

It is by no means an easy task to give a fair and accurate description of the doctrines and opinions held by Origen.

[1] Succeeded Demetrius as Patriarch of Alexandria.

Notwithstanding his general condemnation, in subsequent ages, by the Churches both of the East and the West, it is impossible to deny that, in regard to the Incarnation, the Divinity of Christ, and the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, there is sufficient in his writings to acquit him of definite and deliberate heresy. His later works undoubtedly present the orthodox faith in a way that is comparatively free from the fantastic errors of his earlier productions. The real secret of the charge brought against him, of heretical teaching, is due to the strong taint of Oriental mysticism which characterised the early Church of Alexandria, and which Origen imbibed with the philosophy of the Catechetical School. This mysticism gave birth to Sabellianism,[1] Monophysitism,[2] and Monothelitism.[3] And yet, in spite of the censure pronounced against his tenets by so many Synods of the Church, it is doubtful whether, if Origen had been as heretical as has sometimes been supposed, he would have found such defenders as St. Athanasius, St. Basil, and St. Gregory Nazianzen.[4]

To return, however, to the story of Demetrius. He it was who, according to Eutychius,[5] secured an agreement among the Bishops as to the exact date of celebrating the Easter Festival, and he is credited with having invented the system of Epacts. His treatment of Origen has been severely criticised, but, had he passed over the uncanonical action of the Bishops of Palestine without protest, the necessary discipline of Church government would inevitably have

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[1] The parent of the modern heresy, Unitarianism.

[2] The doctrine, opposed to the teaching of the Catholic Church, that there was only one nature in Christ, which doctrine was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon.

[3] The doctrine, opposed to the teaching of the Catholic Church, that, after the union of the Divine and human natures of Christ, there was but one will and one operation, which doctrine was condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 680 A.D.

[4] See Neander's Christian Ch., vol. ii. pp. 456 sq.

[5] Eutych. i. 362.

been weakened. It was a great sorrow to him, during his last years, to know how utterly those prelates had disregarded his deposition of Origen. After a patriarchate extending over upwards of forty years, he was called to his rest three years before the persecution under Maximin.

He was succeeded, A.D. 232, by HERACLAS, the former friend and colleague, and subsequent condemner, of Origen, against whom the new Patriarch renewed the sentence of excommunication pronounced by his predecessor. During the severity of the attack on the Christians by the brutal Goth, Maximin (who had murdered Alexander in his tent, and usurped the throne), Heraclas retired from Alexandria to escape from the fury of the mob, but returned when the storm was over. He governed the See for fifteen years.

The next Patriarch was DIONYSIUS, A.D. 247. He had been a pagan and an idolater, but, according to Egyptian tradition,[1] his conversion was brought about by the perusal of a manuscript of St. Paul's Epistles, lent to him by a poor woman who had embraced the faith. When he asked whether there were any more of such writings, she referred him to the Patriarch Demetrius, by whom he was baptized. He was a married man, and was renowned for his great learning, sound judgment, and unquestionable orthodoxy. During the persecution under Decius, in which a large number of the Christians in Alexandria were put to death by cruel torture, Dionysius remained at his post, encouraging the weak and supporting the faithful. At length he fell into the hands of his persecutors, and was banished to Taposiris, a small city in Mareotis, in Libya. It was at this time that he wrote his Exhortation on Martyrdom, and addressed it to Origen. He returned to his See shortly afterwards, and the next event of importance in his life was the prominent part which he took in the condemnation

1 Renaudot, Patr. Alex., p. 25.

of Novatian and his heresy. This is of special interest, as showing the authority and position of the Church of Alexandria in the early centuries of Christianity.

When Fabian, Bishop of Rome, was martyred A.D. 250, the fury of the persecution was such that no one would come forward for election, and it was not until eighteen months later that Cornelius was appointed as his successor. In the meantime Novatian, a Stoic philosopher, who had been uncanonically ordained to the priesthood, aspired to the See of the capital of the Empire. He secured episcopal consecration by inviting three Bishops, from obscure country dioceses in a corner of Italy, to a banquet at which they ate and drank to excess, and, when in that condition, at the irregular hour of four in the afternoon, they laid their hands on him. Immediately afterwards, Novatian wrote to the Patriarchs of the different branches of the Church, announcing the fact of his consecration. While Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, inclined towards accepting and recognising him, Dionysius wrote a strong letter of remonstrance, coupled with an urgent request that he should retire. A Council held at Rome in A.D. 251 condemned Novatian, and, owing in great measure to the influence of Dionysius, and of St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, the dreaded schism in the Roman Church was averted. A Council, held at Antioch the following year, under the presidency of Demetrian (who had succeeded Fabius in the Patriarchate), prevented the spread of Novatianism in the East, of which there was at one time considerable danger.

Briefly, the *tenets of Novatian* were as follows—that those who had fallen away, in time of persecution, could never be received into communion, whatever penance they might perform; and that the Church has no authority to pardon such sinners, being only able to leave them to the infinite mercy of God. This was contrary to the practice in the Churches of Rome, Carthage, and Alexandria, and the

general judgment of the Fathers, it being unanimously held that the Holy Communion must never be withheld from the dying, if they desired to receive it, even if they had previously lapsed.

In making a visitation of his Province, in 254 A.D., Dionysius discovered, at Arsinoê,[1] a strong tendency towards heresy in the Millenarian doctrine, which had been taught by Nepos, the lately-deceased Bishop of that place, a learned man of very high character.

The teaching of *Millenarianism* was that, after the General Resurrection, Christ would personally reign on earth, and that, for a thousand years, His followers would enjoy both corporal and spiritual delights.

Dionysius summoned a Conference, and by his learning, moderation, and tact, convinced those who held these views of their error, and averted the threatened evil.

The following year a new trouble arose in the Church, in which Dionysius took a by no means unimportant part. It had been the practice of the Church of Carthage, since the decree issued by Agrippinus and his Council (A.D. 200), that those who had received the Sacrament of Baptism at the hands of heretics must, on admission to the Church, be re-baptized. Fifty years later the question was revived in Carthage, and, in three successive Councils, St. Cyprian reaffirmed the judgment of his predecessor. This decision was angrily opposed by Stephen, Bishop of Rome, who threatened to excommunicate the African Church, unless it acknowledged its errors. Appealed to by both disputants, Dionysius urged[2] the Roman Pontiff to proceed with moderation, and not to disturb the peace of the Church, which was but just recovering from the Novatian schism, by any harsh decision in respect to the Oriental prelates. Very soon afterwards, both Stephen and St. Cyprian were

[1] In the Fayoum.

[2] Quoted by Eusebius (H.E. vii. 5).

removed by death, suffering martyrdom in the persecution by Valerian, and Dionysius addressed himself to Stephen's successor, Pope Sixtus. It seems clear that Dionysius was opposed to re-baptism, but was in favour of allowing each Church to act according to its own custom and tradition. The increasing violence of the Valerian persecution prevented any settlement of the question until the Council of Nicæa, when re-baptism was finally condemned. But the dispute is not without interest, as shewing the influence wielded by Dionysius, and his power to restrain Stephen from excommunicating the African Bishops for disagreeing with the Roman Church.

In the year A.D. 257, Dionysius was summoned before the Prefect Æmilian to stand his trial as a Christian. He was banished to Kefro, in Libya; but his preaching there was attended with such marked success that he was removed to Coluthion, a city of Mareotis. While there he occupied himself with the preparation of his Paschal cycle, which, by the Council of Nicæa, was taken as the basis of the Alexandrine cycle. But he was soon to be involved in a more serious controversy than any in which he had yet been engaged.

It was about this time that the Sabellian heresy took its rise in Pentapolis, and spread rapidly throughout Africa.

Briefly, the dogmas of *Sabellianism* were as follows: That the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are one substance (ὑπόστασις); in other words, that they are One Person with three names; that the same Person, in the old dispensation, as the Father, gave the law; in the new dispensation, as the Son, was incarnate for the sake of mankind; and, as the Holy Ghost, descended upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. The result of this teaching was that the redemption by Christ, as the Son of God who became Man, was no longer taught.

Dionysius lost no time in condemning the errors which were being thus disseminated, and wrote an exposition of the Catholic Faith, on the point of the distinction between the Persons of the Father and the Son. Unfortunately, his language, in which he aimed at enforcing the orthodox truth, was open to misinterpretation, and the catholics of Pentapolis complained of him to Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, accusing him of asserting the Son of God to be a creature, and of refusing to accept the word, and doctrine, of Consubstantiality. The Pope held a Council, at which the teaching complained of was censured.

The Bishop of Alexandria immediately set to work to prepare his "Refutation and Apology," in which he partly denied, and partly explained, the charges brought against him; and this was considered to be a satisfactory explanation of his position and orthodoxy.

Dionysius, after a long episcopate, during which he suffered much under several persecutors of the Church, and defended the faith from numerous heresies, died, A.D. 265.

Maximus, the companion of Dionysius, succeeded him as Patriarch of Alexandria. His tenure of the See was uneventful, and he died in A.D. 282.

Theonas, the next Patriarch, erected a church in Alexandria,[1] dedicated to St. Mary; and the Ethiopic Calendar for the second of June includes the festival of the "Dedication of the Temple of Mary," which probably had reference to this church. It is recorded by the Arabic writers—though it is not easy to determine whether there is any truth in the story—that, in his time, Sabellius (who was a native of Pentapolis) came to Alexandria, and, entering the church in which the Bishop was sitting, challenged him to a dispute on the Catholic Faith, on condition that the

[1] Eutychius, i. 397.

disputant who was defeated should embrace the doctrine held by the other. Theonas, regarding such a controversy as being beneath the dignity of his office, appointed Peter Martyr, one of his clergy (who succeeded him in the See), to carry on the discussion. Before it had gone far, Sabellius was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and fell dead.

It was during the Patriarchate of Theonas that the Alexandrian Church first commenced to compute its years, not from the Incarnation, but from the Era of Martyrs, that is, from the first year of the reign of Diocletian, when so many Christians suffered for the faith. This reckoning is still employed by the Coptic Church, although the Orthodox (Greek) Church of Alexandria has long since exchanged it for the "use" of Constantinople. Theonas died A.D. 300.[1]

The next Patriarch of Alexandria (A.D. 300) was PETER, who was the first of the Bishops of that See to suffer martyrdom. No less than sixteen Roman pontiffs, and two prelates of Antioch, had up to this time laid down their lives for the faith. According to Oriental writers,[2] Peter was ordained at the age of seventeen, and nominated by Theonas as his successor. His first important act, after his succession, was to summon a Council at Alexandria (in 301 A.D.), at which Meletius was convicted and deposed. Meletius was Bishop of Lycopolis,[3] who, in some local persecution had renounced the faith, and sacrificed to idols. He was by no means disposed to submit meekly to the sentence pronounced against him, but separated himself from the communion of the Church, and was thus the first leader of a schism at Alexandria. In order to strengthen his position, he ordained no less than thirty Bishops of his sect, and among those whose support he secured was Arius,[4] a

[1] Euseb., H.E. vii. 32.
[2] Renaudot, p. 51.
[3] Now Assiout. the seat of a Coptic Bishop.
[4] Sozomen, H.E. i. 15.

native of Libya, who had been ordained deacon by Peter, but was suspended from his office for espousing the cause of Meletius, and violently attacking the Patriarch.

About two years later, the tenth great persecution of the Christians, directed and encouraged by Diocletian, commenced. In its early stages, many Egyptians suffered at Tyre, and it was not long before the fury of its violence visited Alexandria and the Thebais, the number of those who suffered there being reckoned, in the ancient martyrologies, at 144,000. It would be impossible, in this brief sketch, to enumerate even the names of those who laid down their lives for the truth in those dark days, much less to attempt any description of their sufferings. Among those who stand out in bold relief in the pages of Egyptian Church history at that time are S. Asclas, SS. Apollonius and Philemon, SS. Theodora and Didymus, SS. Phileas and Philoromus, and last, but not least, S. Peter. As soon as it was known that the Patriarch was likely to fall a victim to the tyranny of the Emperor, Arius urged some of his friends to intercede with the Bishop to withdraw the sentence of excommunication against him. But Peter cried with a loud voice: "Let Arius be anathema by our Lord Jesus Christ, in this world and in the world to come." He then took aside two of his disciples, Achillas and Alexander,[1] and explained to them that this severe sentence was consequent on a vision[2] that had been vouchsafed to him, by which he knew that Arius was likely to bring trouble to the Church. St. Peter was beheaded, and tradition[3] states that his wife and two sons were slain with him.

Within about a year of St. Peter's martyrdom, ACHILLAS was raised to the Patriarchal throne, A.D. 312. During his seven months' episcopate, he removed the anathema pro-

[1] Both of them, in turn, succeeded him in the Patriarchate. Euseb., H.E. vii. 32.
[2] Eutych., i. 426, 427.
[3] Makrizi, § 102.

nounced by his predecessor on Arius, and elevated him to the priesthood, appointing him to the charge of the Church of Baucalis.

On the death of Achillas, ALEXANDER was unanimously chosen (A.D. 313) as his successor. Arius, who had put himself forward as a candidate for the honour, at once proceeded to attack Alexander, and accused him of holding the Sabellian heresy. By his personal influence, Arius gained many converts to his heretical views, and at length the Patriarch, feeling that some action was necessary to check the growing evil, summoned a conference of clergy at Alexandria, but no decision was arrived at on the question. He then convened a synod of the priests of Alexandria, and of the neighbouring province of Mareotis (A.D. 320), and formally pronounced a sentence of excommunication on Arius. Thirty-six priests and forty-four deacons supported the Patriarch, while five priests and five deacons were on the side of the heresiarch. In spite of this, however, the followers of Arius rapidly increased, not only in Mareotis and Libya, but in Alexandria itself.

So serious had matters become—threatening the very foundations of the Church—that Alexander hastened to summon a general Council of his Province, in A.D. 321, which was attended by nearly one hundred Bishops. After patiently hearing an exposition of his views from Arius, the Council unanimously condemned them, and anathematised both leader and disciples, declaring them to be separate from the communion of the Catholic Church.

But such a decision was totally powerless to check the spread of this remarkable heresy. Various conjectures have been put forward to account for the marvellous facility with which whole Churches accepted the teaching of Arius, and within a few years were equally strong in condemning it; and for the ease with which many of the Bishops were deceived. One important factor was undoubtedly the

attractive manners, and persuasive powers, of Arius himself, combined with a subtilty which enabled him to present his particular views in language that was capable of deceiving his hearer into a belief in his orthodoxy. And it must also be remembered that, while questions had been raised in the past as to the Human Nature of Christ, His Divinity had never yet been attacked. Consequently, when Arius first put forward his heretical opinions, the great body of the Catholic Church was taken by surprise. Men regarded the doctrine of the Trinity as a great mystery, into which they dared not enquire too closely, and thus, when speculations as to the nature of the Godhead were propounded, they were carried away by the speciousness of the arguments, and then were horrified to find that they had been so far misled as to actually deny the Divinity of the Son of God.

At this time we find that a firm friendship had sprung up between Arius and Eusebius of Nicomedia. This man, whose character is one of the most complex which history contains—he was learned, eloquent, and ambitious; so saintly in demeanour that miracles were ascribed to him; so depraved that he is accused of joining Licinius in his persecution of the Christians—was Bishop of Berytus, in Phœnicia; but, owing to his influence over Constantia,[1] the sister of Constantine, he was advanced to the See of Nicomedia, which was reckoned the fifth[2] in importance throughout the world. After his condemnation by the Council of Alexandria, Arius went into Palestine, where he won over numerous adherents to his views. Later on he paid a visit to his friend Eusebius at Nicomedia, whom he persuaded to actively espouse his cause, and to write to the Patriarch of Alexandria.

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[1] She was the wife of Licinius.

[2] The other four were (according to Tillemont) Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage.

In consequence of this, and a letter he received from Arius, Alexander addressed an encyclical epistle, containing a brief history of the Arian schism, and an exposition of the true Faith, to the whole Catholic Church, which was signed by a large number of bishops and clergy.

But the heresy continued to gain ground, one of the most influential converts to Arianism being Constantia. About this period, however, Constantine, who had for some time been anxious to hear more about the true faith, was urged to embrace Christianity by a vision which is traditionally believed to have been vouchsafed to him. According to the story, he was preparing to march against Maxentius (who had declared himself Emperor of Rome), and was doubtful whether to proceed or not, when he saw in the heavens, at noonday, a brilliant cross[1] of stars, and surrounding it the legend, "In hac vince." When Licinius commenced a fresh persecution against the Christians, Constantine attacked and defeated him, thus becoming master of the world.

The Emperor soon fell under the influence of Eusebius of Nicomedia, who represented to him that the controversy which had arisen at Alexandria was a mere question of phraseology, and that a good opportunity now offered itself for compelling the principal disputants to be reconciled. Accordingly, Constantine wrote (or more probably allowed Eusebius to write in his name) a letter addressed "to Alexander and Arius," the tenor of which was that, as they had differed about an unimportant dogma, it was his urgent desire to see them at one with each other. It is hardly conceivable, were it not that we have convincing proof of the fact, that a Bishop of the Catholic Church could deliberately state that the question as to whether the Saviour was a mere creature, or was Very God of Very God, was simply a strife of words.

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[1] Eutych., i. 422.

This letter was brought to Alexander by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova. The Patriarch at once summoned a Council at Alexandria, at which the term Consubstantial (as applied to the relation between the Father and the Son) was formally approved; Arius was again excommunicated; and the Meletians were condemned. This decision roused the Arians throughout Egypt and the Thebaid to the wildest excesses and acts of violence against the Christians. At length, wearied with the interminable disputes and distracting recriminations, Constantine, by the advice of Alexander and Hosius, summoned the first great Œcumenical Council, which met at Nicæa, in Bithynia, in June, A.D. 325.

CHAPTER II.

The Church of Alexandria During the First Six Centuries.

The number of Bishops who attended the Council of Nicæa was three hundred and eighteen.[1] They assembled from Italy and Spain, from Africa, from Palestine, from Egypt, from Mesopotamia, and from Pentapolis. Each Bishop was accompanied by a large retinue of priests and deacons. With the Patriarch of Alexandria came twenty of his prelates, among whom were S. Potamon of Heraclea, S. Paphnutius from the Thebais, and S. Athanasius. The Bishop of Rome[2] was unable, through advanced age, to be present; and, as Alexandria was the next See in importance to that of the Imperial City, it would naturally have fallen to Alexander to preside. As, however, he was both chief accuser and principal witness, this honour and responsibility devolved on S. Eustathius of Antioch.

The Council was opened on June 19th, in the absence of the Emperor, and, during the first fortnight, the Bishops assembled in the principal church of the city, to hear and to examine the doctrines propounded by Arius. As soon as Constantine arrived, an adjournment was made to the Great Hall of the Palace, where a throne had been prepared for him.

After much discussion, which turned mainly on the exact word[3] that should be used to describe the relation between God the Father and God the Son, the following Creed was drawn up, and subscribed to by all the Bishops present, except five. Among those who were primarily

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[1] Niceph. H.E., vii. 14; St. Athanas. ad Episc., Ep. i. 932; cf. Genesis xiv. 14.

[2] Pope Sylvester.

[3] The Council insisted on ὁμοούσιος (consubstantial), while the Arians demanded the word ὁμοιούσιος (of like substance).

responsible for the form in which the "Symbol" was presented were Hosius, Alexander, and Athanasius.

"We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, begotten not made, Consubstantial with the Father, by Whom all things were made, both in heaven and on earth; Who for us men and for our salvation came down, and was incarnate, and was made man; He suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven; and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead.

"And we believe in the Holy Ghost.

"And for them that say, concerning the Son of God, there was a time when He was not, and, He was not before He was produced, and, He was produced from things that are not, and, He is of another substance or essence, or created, or subject to conversion or mutation, the Catholic and Apostolic Church saith, Let them be Anathema."

The Council next considered the question of the Meletian schism,[1] and the moderation exercised in reference to it was the cause of future trouble in the Church. Meletius was received into communion, and permitted to retain his title of Bishop, though forbidden in future to perform any episcopal functions. Those who had been previously consecrated or ordained by him might be eligible for appointments in the Church, after imposition of hands, subject to the consent of the Patriarch of Alexandria.

Another decision of the Council provided that the Bishop of Alexandria was to give notice, of the exact day on which the Easter Festival was to be observed, to the Bishop of Rome, through whom it was to be announced to the whole Catholic Church. It was also decreed that no priest could marry after receiving Holy Orders, though, in deference to

[1] See p. 18.

the views of S. Paphnutius, the Council declined to enforce the celibacy of those clergy who were married before their ordination.

The Council brought its sessions to a close on August 25th, on which day Constantine gave a banquet to the Bishops, dismissing them with magnificent presents, and earnest exhortations to peace and unity.

A few months later Alexander, having ruled his Patriarchate for fourteen years, died early in the year 326 A.D., having named Athanasius as his successor.

ATHANASIUS, who became Patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 326, was born about the year 296 A.D. At the age of twenty he wrote his treatise against the Gentiles, in which his deep learning, and his knowledge of Scripture, gave promise of future distinction. It was during the early years of his episcopate that the Church of Abyssinia[1] was founded through the preaching of Frumentius, and thus a large addition was made to the territorial jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

It soon became manifest that the leniency shown by the Council of Nicæa towards the Meletians was misplaced. Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was one of the leading spirits in this schism (which had practically identified itself with Arianism), devoted all his energies to the reinstatement of his friend Arius in the communion of the Church. He wrote to Athanasius, urging him to receive the heretic, but the Patriarch disregarded his request. Thereupon the Meletians accused him to the Emperor of having imposed a tax on the Egyptians in order to provide linen vestments[2] for the Church of Alexandria, and of having sent a chest of gold to Philumenus, an aspirant to the purple—both of which falsehoods were easily disproved. Their next attack involved a question of sacrilege, and has been handed down

[1] See chap. vii.

[2] στιχάρια, i.e., white tunics or albs. See Neale, Introd. to Holy East Ch., vol. i. p. 306.

in the famous story of the broken chalice. Ischyras, a man of notoriously bad character, had been irregularly ordained by Colluthus, a schismatic Alexandrian priest (who was condemned by a Council at Alexandria, which declared that those whom he had ordained were merely laymen),[1] and officiated in a small hamlet in the Mareotis. Athanasius, hearing of this, sent a priest named Macarius to summon him to his presence. Ischyras was ill in bed, but his father promised that he would abstain for the future from officiating. On his recovery, he joined the Meletians, who persuaded him (it is said, by threats and blows) to accuse Macarius of having, by the Patriarch's orders, thrown down the altar, broken the chalice, and burnt the church books. Athanasius had no difficulty in disproving the slander, and, later on, Ischyras produced a written and attested document, confessing that he had been forcibly compelled to swear falsely. But, as his penitence was obviously insincere, and he was consequently refused absolution, he withdrew his confession.

The Patriarch was next accused of sorcery. John Arcaph, the leader of the Meletian schism, persuaded Arsenius, Bishop of Hypsele, by means of a bribe, to go into hiding; whereupon Athanasius was charged before Constantine with his murder, and a mummied hand was produced as evidence of the crime.[2] A deacon was thereupon despatched to the Thebaid to investigate the matter, and he learnt that Arsenius was residing at the monastery of Ptemencyrcis. On arriving there, he found that Arsenius had been sent to Lower Egypt, but Pinnes, the Superior, was arrested, and confessed the imposture.[3] Arsenius was then discovered at Tyre, but denied his identity, until the Bishop

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[1] Athanas. Apol. c. Ar. 12, 74, 76.

[2] Theodor., i. 30.

[3] This was contained in a letter to John Arcaph, which fell into the hands of Athanasius. See Athanas. Apol. c. Ar. 67.

of Tyre, Paul by name, recognised him, whereupon, as Tillemont expresses it, "il fut convaincu d'être lui-même."

But the enemies of Athanasius were not silenced. They persuaded the Emperor to summon a Council at Tyre, in 335 A.D., and the Patriarch was ordered to attend. The old charge of the murder of Arsenius was revived; but, to the confusion of the Arians, the old man appeared before the Bishops, and shewed his two hands, one of which the Patriarch was accused of having cut off. Their rage was so great at the exposure of their machinations that, had not the secular authorities interfered, Athanasius would have been torn to pieces.

The next move was to appoint a commission of enquiry into the affair of Ischyras. The whole proceedings were so irregular and unjust, and the evidence was so palpably manufactured, that it is not surprising to learn that the Council deposed Athanasius, raised Ischyras to the Episcopate, and received Arius into the communion of the Church.

The Patriarch had in the meantime fled to Constantinople, where he appealed to Constantine for justice. The Bishops who had formed the Council of Tyre were thereupon summoned to the Emperor's presence, when they dropped their former calumnies, and brought forward a new charge, viz., that Athanasius had endeavoured to obstruct the corn supplies sent from Alexandria to the capital. Constantine refused to hear the Patriarch in his own defence, and banished him (February, 336 A.D.) to Treves, in Gaul, where he remained two and a half years. It was during this period that he heard tidings of the death of Arius, who had been troubling the Church of Alexandria since the Patriarch's departure. Arius had persuaded the Emperor to insist that the venerable Alexander, Bishop of Constantinople, should admit him to the communion of the Church there; the triumph of the heretical party seemed complete; when, at the hour appointed for the service, Arius was struck with a mortal illness, and died.

In May, 337 A.D., Constantine was baptized on his death-bed, and the following year his successor recalled Athanasius, who returned to his See, and was received with great demonstrations of popular enthusiasm. His enemies, however, soon renewed their attacks. The Eusebians consecrated an Arian named Pistus (who had been deposed from the priesthood by Alexander), and intruded him into the See of Alexandria. Their application to Julius, Bishop of Rome, to recognise their nominee, was unsuccessful. They then secured the consecration of Gregory of Cappadocia, who had received much kindness at the hands of Athanasius. He entered Alexandria during Lent, supported by his fellow-countryman Philagrius, Prefect of Egypt, who encouraged the mob to attack the Church of St. Quirinus, which they desecrated with every form of brutal insult, ill-treating and even slaying the monks, virgins, and widows. Gregory soon after commenced a visitation of Egypt, and the same excesses and barbarities were carried out wherever he went. Athanasius, finding himself powerless, sailed for Rome. The Bishop of Rome summoned the Eusebians to a Council, but they replied in an offensive letter, and refused to come. They held a Council at Antioch, May, 340 A.D., which condemned Athanasius, and, in November of the same year, the long-delayed Council was held at Rome, and declared Athanasius innocent. At length the Emperor Constans was prevailed upon to summon an Œcumenical Council, which assembled at Sardica towards the close of the year 343 A.D.[1]

About 170 Bishops met under the presidency of Hosius of Cordova; Athanasius was acquitted, and the leaders of the Eusebian party were excommunicated.

In 345 A.D., Gregory, after carrying on his persecution

[1] The generally received date, 347 A.D. (see Neale, Hist. Holy East. Ch., vol. i. p. 182) is proved, by the discovery of the Maffeian Fragment and the Festal Letters, to be too late. (See Dict. of Christian Biography, vol. i. p. 190.)

of the orthodox Christians in Egypt to the last, was murdered,[1] and the way was prepared for the return of Athanasius, whose arrival in Alexandria was made the occasion for a striking ovation.[2]

For about three years there was peace and quiet throughout Egypt, and the Patriarch set himself to organize and develop the work. But in February, 356 A.D., the Church of S. Theonas, in which he was officiating, was attacked by the soldiers, and Athanasius, who fainted with the heat and confusion, was carried out for dead. For six years he remained in hiding, though corresponding with his Bishops and clergy. Again a Cappadocian usurper, George by name, was intruded by the Arians into the See, and carried on a dastardly persecution of the Christians.

In 361 A.D. Constantine died, and Julian the Apostate succeeded to the throne. He issued an edict of toleration for all sects, and shortly afterwards George, having insulted the pagans of the city, was torn to pieces, and his body burnt.

The following year Athanasius returned to Alexandria, but was soon afterwards exiled by the Emperor, who realised that paganism could not hold its own against the Christian faith so long as the Patriarch remained at his See. On the death of Julian the following year, Athanasius was recalled, and, for the last five years of his life, he devoted himself uninterruptedly to the work of the Church of Alexandria. He died in the spring of 373 A.D., at the age of seventy-seven, having held the See for forty-six years.[3]

PETER II., the faithful and aged companion of Athanasius, was nominated by the latter as his successor, and became Patriarch in 373 A.D.; but, within a few months, he was cast into prison, the See being once again usurped by an Arian, Lucius by name, who followed the example of Gregory and

[1] So Theodoret, Hist. Arian. 21. [2] Greg. Nazianz., Orat. 21.
[3] See Neander's Christian Ch., vol. iv. pp. 30-439.

George, directing his persecutions specially against the monks.

On his liberation from prison, Peter repaired to Rome, where he assisted at the Council held to condemn the teaching of Apollinaris.

The *Apollinarian heresy* taught that the Saviour was only in regard to His Body a man, and that His Divinity supplied the place of a human soul.

In 378 A.D. Peter returned to Alexandria, and Lucius was expelled. The following year, having, in virtue of his position as Patriarch, instituted St. Gregory of Nazianzus into the See of Constantinople, Peter was prevailed upon by a Cynic philosopher, named Maximus, to send some bishops to the capital, with instructions to consecrate him (Maximus) in the room of Gregory. The people rose in wrath; Maximus was compelled to leave the city; and a serious trouble to the Church was averted. Shortly afterwards Peter died, and was succeeded by his brother Timothy, who was called "the poor," because he had divested himself of all his worldly possessions.

Timothy became Patriarch in 380 A.D., and one of his first duties was to attend the second General Council, that of Constantinople, which was convened by the Emperor Theodosius in 381 A.D. The principal act of this Council was the expansion of the Creed of Nicæa into the form in which we, in common with the whole Catholic Church, use it in our Communion office, the only difference between ourselves and the Eastern Church being that the latter affirm the Procession of the Holy Ghost to be only from the Father.[1] The Council then proceeded to degrade Alexandria to the third place among the Patriarchates, Constantinople being raised to the second place immediately after the See of Rome. Timothy was so indignant that he

[1] The Easterns omit the Filioque clause.

and the other Egyptian Bishops at once withdrew, and returned to their Sees. The rest of his life was spent in the performance of his episcopal duties, and in the preparation of his Canonical Epistle on Penance. He held a high character for piety and learning, and built several churches in Alexandria. His death took place in 385 A.D.

THEOPHILUS, who had been secretary to Athanasius, succeeded Timothy as Patriarch in 385 A.D. During his episcopate, and that of his successor, the Church of Alexandria reached the zenith of its power and dignity. One of Theophilus' first acts was to obtain from the Emperor the grant of an ancient temple of Bacchus, on the site of which he proposed to erect a church. In clearing the foundations, some relics were discovered, and the public display of these roused the anger of the pagans. A collision ensued between them and the Christians, which was quelled with difficulty. The image of Serapis was destroyed, and this was the signal for a storm of iconoclastic fury that spread rapidly throughout Egypt.

In 394 A.D. Theophilus attended the second Council of Constantinople, at which it was decided that, although three Bishops could consecrate, they could not depose, a prelate, and that nothing less than a Provincial Council was sufficient for the latter act. Four years later, the Patriarch was again in Constantinople, in order to urge the appointment of Isidore to that See, in opposition to S. John Chrysostom. However, under threats from Eutropius, the Prime Minister, he was induced to consecrate the latter.

In the early years of his episcopate, Theophilus shewed his preference for the monks, following the precedent set by Athanasius of choosing bishops from their number, rather than from the married clergy. But in his paschal letter of the year 399 A.D., he reproved them, in severe terms, for their arrogance, and for their anthropomorphic

tendencies.[1] This epistle brought on the Patriarch a perfect storm of indignation, so much so that his life was in danger, and he was compelled to retract, or at least modify, what he had said, in order to pacify the monks.

Two years later the Patriarch had a dispute with Isidore, the treasurer of the Alexandrian Church, over the allocation of some money. Isidore, who appears to have been falsely accused, took refuge in the monastery on Mount Nitria; whereupon Theophilus commanded the neighbouring bishops to drive the monks from their retreat. Without delay the "Long Brothers,"[2] who were famous for their learning and influence, came to Alexandria to remonstrate with the Patriarch, but were grossly insulted. They, with other monks, then went to Constantinople, in order to enlist the protection of St. John Chrysostom. After a protracted correspondence between the two prelates, Theophilus came, accompanied by many Egyptian Bishops, and presided over a Council at Chalcedon,[3] which deposed St. Chrysostom. The populace, however, rose in wrath, and Theophilus was barely able to escape and return to Alexandria. But St. Chrysostom was subsequently exiled, and died in 407 A.D.

Towards the close of his life, Theophilus formed a friendship with Synesius,[4] whom he consecrated Bishop of Ptolemais, having previously officiated at his marriage. Theophilus died in 412 A.D., after an episcopate of twenty-seven years, during which he wielded enormous power. In spite of his grave faults, he did much to consolidate and strengthen the Church in Egypt.

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[1] Anthropomorphism was a heresy that taught a material and debased conception of God, attributing to the Deity the possession of the different members of the human body.

[2] The names of these brothers were Ammonius, Dioscorus, Eusebius, and Euthymius.

[3] Called the Synod of the Oak.

[4] He was on terms of friendship with Hypatia, the heathen philosopher.

The next Patriarch of Alexandria was the famous CYRIL (412 A.D.), who was the son of the sister of his predecessor. He was a native of Alexandria, and was educated in the monastery of Mount Nitria. His election to the Patriarchate was opposed by the Archdeacon Timotheus, who put forward a claim to the See, but this was overruled, and Cyril was appointed.

His first act was to close the churches of the Novatians,[1] to deprive them of their vessels and treasures, and to confiscate the property of their Bishop, Theopemptus. He then directed his attack upon the Jewish residents, who had certainly given him great provocation. Disturbances between the Christians and the Jews were of frequent occurrence, in the course of which many on both sides were slain. When the Prefect Orestes was injured by a missile hurled at him by a monk, the offender, Ammonius, was tortured and put to death, whereupon Cyril changed his name to Thaumasius,[2] and caused him to be honoured as a martyr.

But the greatest blot on Cyril's career was the murder of the gifted pagan philosopher, Hypatia. Believing that it was through her influence that Orestes was so bitterly opposed to their Bishops, the Christians, headed by Peter the Reader, seized her in the street, dragged her into the great Cæsarean Church, and, having stripped her, tore her to pieces.[3] There is no evidence to shew that Cyril was privy to the brutal act, although Dean Stanley[4] states that he "was suspected, even by the orthodox, of complicity in the murder"; but it cannot be denied that his violence against the heathen had excited his followers, who believed that no excess of zeal on their part would be unacceptable to the Patriarch.

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[1] See p. 14.

[2] That is, the admirable one.

[3] The story is graphically described by Kingsley in his "Hypatia."

[4] Lectures on Eastern Ch., p. 247. See Socr., vii. 15.

For some years after this tragedy, Cyril devoted himself quietly to the duties of his office, and to the composition of his voluminous writings. It was not until the year 428 A.D., that he was drawn into the great controversy with which his name is pre-eminently associated, and which has so deeply affected the history of the Church.

In that year, Nestorius, a priest of the Church of Antioch, was consecrated Patriarch of Constantinople. He immediately commenced a crusade against all heretics, demolishing a church of the Arians, and attacking the Macedonians, Pelagians, and Novatians. But, within a few months of his elevation, he himself fell under suspicion of heresy.

The Presbyter Anastasius having, in a sermon in the Great Church at Constantinople, denied that the Virgin Mary could be truly called Mother of God[1]—affirming that, as she was a human creature, the Deity could not be born of humanity—Nestorius took the opportunity, a few weeks later, of warmly supporting this view.[2] He held that Mary was the Mother of Christ,[3] and that, while the Divinity of the Word is to be distinguished from the temple of His flesh, yet there remained but one Person in the God-man. The practical outcome of his teaching (though it is doubtful if Nestorius himself would have subscribed to such an interpretation of his utterances) was that our Lord was not truly God, but merely a man so superabundantly blessed and inspired that He could not sin.

In one of his Festal Letters, Cyril devoted himself to the task of combating these errors, and wrote several letters to Nestorius. The latter had appealed for approval of his teaching to Celestine, Bishop of Rome. But that prelate declared that the views submitted to him were rank blasphemy, and, at a Synod held at Rome in August. 430 A.D.,

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[1] Θεοτόκος.

[2] A precis of this sermon is given by Marius Mercator (Opp. E. Garnier, P. ii. p. 5).

[3] Χριστοτόκος

Nestorius was pronounced a heretic, and Cyril was commissioned to warn him that, unless he retracted his errors, he would be deposed. Cyril immediately convened a "Council of all Egypt," which confirmed the finding of the Roman Synod. He thereupon addressed a letter to Nestorius, to which were appended twelve "articles,"[1] in the form of anathemas, which the latter was required to sign. Before the Bishops by whom this letter was sent could reach Constantinople, the Emperor, Theodosius II., had issued orders for a General Council to be held at Ephesus the following year (431 A.D.).

In the absence of John, Patriarch of Antioch (whose journey was prolonged, either accidentally or by design), Cyril presided at the Council,[2] which proceeded to deprive and excommunicate Nestorius. At an irregular Council held by John after his arrival, Cyril was condemned and deposed. Ultimately the Emperor confirmed the sentence against Nestorius, who was banished, first to his monastery near Antioch, then to Petra, in Arabia, and finally to the great oasis in the Thebaid, where he died, somewhere between the years 439 and 451 A.D.

The death of Nestorius by no means put an end to his heresy, for it extended to Persia, India, and even China, and exists, in name at least, at the present day.

Soon after the termination of the Council of Ephesus, a reconciliation took place between Cyril and John of Antioch, in 433 A.D., and the remaining years of Cyril's life were spent in composing, by his writings and negotiations, the dissensions in the Eastern Church; and he died, after an episcopate of over thirty years, in 444 A.D. His character is well summed up by Dr. Newman,[3] who says: "We may hold St. Cyril a great servant of God, without considering ourselves obliged to defend certain passages of his eccle-

[1] They are given by Neale, Hist. Holy Eastern Ch., vol. i., p. 251.

[2] Both by virtue of his dignity as Patriarch of Alexandria, and also under commission from Celestine, Bishop of Rome.

[3] Hist. Sketches, iii. 342.

siastical career. . . . His faults were not inconsistent with great and heroic virtues, faith, firmness, intrepidity, fortitude, endurance, perseverance."

Dioscorus, who had been Cyril's archdeacon, succeeded him in the Patriarchate in 444 A.D. He wrote to Leo the Great, Pope of Rome,[1] announcing his election and consecration; and that prelate, in his reply, took upon himself to dictate to the new Patriarch, in a way that shewed a desire to claim supremacy for Rome over the Church of St. Mark, which was warmly resented by the recipient of the letter.

Before long, Dioscorus vehemently attacked Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhos, with whom he had formerly been on friendly terms. He accused him of Nestorianism, and, in spite of Theodoret's self-vindication, proceeded to anathematise him, and to make a formal complaint to Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople. Matters stood thus when, in 448 A.D., the aged Eutyches, an archimandrite of Constantinople—who had been one of the most zealous opponents of Nestorius—was accused by Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylæum, of renewing the Apollinarian heresy,[2] by asserting that the Divinity and Humanity of the Son of God formed but One Nature, and that the former as well as the latter had suffered. He was condemned by a Council held at Constantinople under the presidency of Flavian, and at once wrote both to Leo and to Dioscorus, the latter of whom warmly espoused his cause.

Meanwhile the Emperor Theodosius summoned a General Council at Ephesus, which met in 449 A.D., Dioscorus presiding. He refused to allow a letter from Leo to be read, and persuaded the Council to acquit Eutyches, and to condemn and depose Flavian. He also excommunicated Leo, and Domnus of Antioch.

[1] The title of Pope was first officially used by Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome.

[2] See p. 31.

The Pope of Rome declined to accept the decrees of the Synod, which he styled the Latrocinium, or Robbers' Council, and persuaded the Emperor[1] to summon the bishops to a General Council. They assembled at Nicæa, but from thence adjourned to Chalcedon, the sessions commencing in October, 451 A.D. After a careful hearing, Dioscorus was condemned and deposed, not for heresy, but for disregarding the Canons and disobeying the Council. The doctrinal decisions arrived at were as follows:—that in Christ there were two natures, which could not be intermixed,[2] and which also were not entirely separate,[3] but were so conjoined that their union destroyed neither the peculiarity of each nature, nor the oneness of Christ's person.

Dioscorus was banished to Gangra, in Paphlagonia, where he lived quietly, and died in 454 A.D. The charges of immorality brought against him were not proved, but it is certain that his overbearing arrogance and violence, more particularly his brutal treatment of Flavian, were primarily the cause of his fall. There is no evidence, beyond his friendship for, and support of, Eutyches (whose teaching was condemned by the Council), that Dioscorus held heretical views as to the Nature of our Lord; but, inasmuch as the Church of Alexandria, out of loyalty to its Patriarch, refused to accept his deposition, and thereby rejected the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, it separated itself, by that act, from the communion of the rest of the Eastern Church.

Proterius, Archpriest of Alexandria, who had been left by Dioscorus in charge of the Church during his absence, was elected to the Patriarchate in 452 A.D., but, so loyal were the people to their deposed spiritual ruler,[4] that

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[1] Theodosius died in 450 A.D., and was succeeded by Marcian, the husband of his sister Pulcheria.

[2] This was directed against the Monophysites, or Eutychians.

[3] This was directed against the Nestorians.

[4] Of the 100 Egyptian Bishops at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, only fourteen accepted its decrees.

the election was the signal for an insurrection in Alexandria. Notwithstanding the fact that Proterius enlisted the sympathy and support of Leo, Pope of Rome, he never considered himself safe without a military guard.

Some time after the death of Dioscorus, TIMOTHY II.,[1] an Alexandrian priest, who had been banished for refusing to communicate with Proterius, was recalled, and, in 457 A.D., was consecrated Patriarch. The Imperial officer took upon himself to expel Timothy from the city, whereupon the populace attacked and murdered his rival, although it is only fair to state that the Patriarch was in no way responsible for the outrage. On his return, he publicly announced that the Church of Alexandria had severed communion with the Churches of Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch, and by this act he widened, instead of endeavouring to heal, the breach.

The Pope of Rome, having obtained, by letters to the various Patriarchates that had been represented at the Council of Chalcedon, a condemnation of Timothy, the Emperor Leo was persuaded to banish him. This paved the way for the consecration, in 460 A.D., of the Melchite[2] successor of Proterius, named Timothy Salofaciolus.[3] He was a man of such gentleness of character and purity of life that he won the affection of the Jacobites[4] to such a degree (though they refused to acknowledge him as Patriarch) that they were wont to say, "Though we do not communicate with thee, yet we love thee."[5] He died twenty-two years after his consecration, several of his later years being spent in exile in the monastery of Canopus.

Timothy Œlurus came to Constantinople in 476 A.D., and received permission from the Emperor, Basiliscus, to return

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[1] He was nicknamed Œlurus, or "The Cat."

[2] See p. 44. Also Book II. ch. i.

[3] A word, partly Coptic and partly Latin, signifying "wearer of the white head-gear."

[4] Book II. ch. i.

[5] Hore's Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church, p. 232.

to Alexandria. His death took place in the following year.

Timothy was succeeded by his friend, PETER III.,[1] who was consecrated in 477 A.D. He was, however, almost immediately afterwards banished, by order of the Emperor Zeno.

Before his death, Timothy Salofaciolus endeavoured to heal the schism in the Alexandrian Church, by appealing to the Emperor to allow the next Patriarch to be chosen by the Egyptians themselves, on the understanding that whoever was selected would accept the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon. The head of the embassy was John Talaia, whom the Emperor suspected of desiring the office. Having made John take an oath that he would never aspire to the See of Alexandria, the Emperor assented to the request. But, as soon as Timothy was dead, John Talaia was chosen Patriarch, and accepted the nomination. This breach of faith, together with the fact that he announced his election to the Bishops of Rome and Antioch before writing to the Emperor or the Patriarch of Constantinople, exasperated Zeno, who recalled Peter Mongus (on condition of his signing the Henoticon), and banished John, who was afterwards made Bishop of Nola in Campania.

The *Henoticon of Zeno*, issued under the advice of (if it was not actually drafted by) Acacius, Bishop of Constantinople, was intended to re-unite the two rival parties in the Alexandrian Church. It was originally addressed to the Patriarchate of Egypt, but later on it became the test proposed to all the Bishops of the East. It approved and adopted the first three Œcumenical Councils (Nicæa, Constantinople, and Ephesus), and, although it affirmed the doctrine put forth at Chalcedon, anathematising Nestorius and Eutyches, it carefully avoided any formal recognition of the Fourth General Council.

[1] Named Mongus, or "The Stammerer."

Although Peter subscribed his name to this document, he alienated many of his supporters by his inconsistencies and his violence. The consequence was that the Church of Alexandria was torn asunder by schisms. The Melchites called themselves Proterians, in honour of their martyred Patriarch; some followed Peter; while a large number of the more rigid Monophysites separated themselves from both parties, and were styled Acephali.[1] For nearly two hundred years this party was split up into rival communities, numbering as many as ten sects, among which may be mentioned the Esaianites, the Barsanuphites, the Anthropomorphites, and the Semidalites; and the differences were not finally healed until the Patriarchate of Alexander II.

Peter Mongus died in 490, and was succeeded by ATHANASIUS II., who laboured to restore peace to his Church. In this he was ably assisted by the new Emperor, Anastasius, who had married the widow of Zeno. The Patriarch brought about the reconciliation of the Churches of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, but the See of Rome held out. Athanasius, whose character for liberality and saintliness stands high, built a number of new churches in Alexandria. He died in 497 A.D.

His successor, JOHN I.,[2] was conciliatory and gentle, and, during his reign of ten years, the country was free from war or tumult.

JOHN II.[3] succeeded to the Patriarchate in 507 A.D., having lived as a hermit for many years. It was during his time that the interchange of Synodical letters between Alexandria and Antioch commenced, which has been kept up till the present day. The letters are usually despatched by

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1 That is, "without a head."
2 Named Hemula.
3 Named Niciota, from Nikius, a city of the Thebaid.

Bishops, but sometimes by priests, and they are publicly read in the churches, in order that the unity of sentiment between the two communions may be maintained.

On the death of John, in 517 A.D., the Patriarchate was filled by Dioscorus II., a cousin of Timothy Œlurus. A section of the Alexandrians resented his nomination by the Emperor, whereupon he submitted himself for election, or rejection, by the people, who almost unanimously accepted him. In a riot that broke out subsequently, the son of the Prefect was killed. Fearing that this accident might bring trouble on the Church, the Patriarch at once went to Constantinople to explain matters to the Emperor Anastasius, and to pacify him. The untiring labours, and winning tact, of Dioscorus resulted in his reconciling many of the Acephali to the communion of the Church. He died in 520 A.D.

His successor was Timothy III., who was soon called upon to deal with the disputes between the Corrupticolæ[1] and the Phantasiasts.[2] It was probably about this time that the Emperor Justinian (who succeeded Justin in 527 A.D.) endeavoured to intrude into the Patriarchate a man named Apollinarius. His appearance was the signal for a violent riot, and many of his people were butchered by the soldiery.[3] What became of Apollinarius is not known, nor can we determine whether he is to be identified with the Melchite Patriarch appointed in 550 A.D.

The Emperor Justinian, having spent some years in establishing his kingdom, and in reconciling the Greek and Roman Churches, turned his attention to affairs in Egypt, and summoned Timothy to appear before him, either to

[1] Followers of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, who maintained that our Lord's body was corruptible.

[2] Followers of Julian, Bishop of Halicarnassus, who taught that the Saviour's body was incorruptible.

[3] Eutychius, ii. 152.

confess the Faith of Chalcedon, or be driven into exile. On the eve of his departure, to obey the Imperial command, the Patriarch died (A.D. 536).

THEODOSIUS was appointed in his place the same year. He was carrying out the custom that had long prevailed in the Egyptian Church, by which the nominated successor was wont to watch all night by the corpse of the deceased Patriarch, when Gaianas, who had been chosen by a section of the Christians, broke into the church with a mob, and Theodosius fled. He was, however, reinstated by the Emperor, and Gaianas was banished. But the dissensions caused by this rivalry for the Patriarchate increased throughout the Church of Alexandria, and Theodosius had the utmost difficulty in maintaining his authority. At length, when he refused, at the bidding of the Emperor, to give public adherence to the decrees of Chalcedon, he was banished, and Paul, a native of Tarsus, was intruded into the See. Neither party would acknowledge Paul, who was called "the new Judas," and Theodosius, from his place of exile, guided and controlled the Church. Paul, finding himself rejected, soon resorted to harsh measures, which resulted in his deposition, and succession by Zoilus.

Theodosius died in exile in 567 A.D., and was succeeded the following year by PETER IV.; but, from his time till the Mohammedan conquest, the episcopal palace and endowments were in the hands of the Melchite Patriarchs, who were maintained in power by the secular authorities. The Coptic Patriarchs resided, for the most part, in the monastery of Nitria, and hardly dared to emerge from their desert retreat for fear of assault.

Peter held the See for less than three years. During that period Jacobus Baradæus, who had been consecrated by Theodosius as missionary bishop for the outlying regions, came to Alexandria. Such was his zeal that he is said to

have ordained eighty-nine bishops and many thousands of priests. It is probable that the term Jacobite, which was at a later date applied to the Monophysites, was derived from the name of this prelate.

Damian followed Peter as Patriarch in 570 A.D. He was unable, through the bitterness of party strife within the Church, to take an active part in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and withdrew to the desert monasteries of Nitria, whence he endeavoured to guide and encourage his flock. John, the Melchite Patriarch, was succeeded by Eulogius, who was an intimate friend of Gregory the Great, Pope of Rome, from whom he received a letter, in 598 A.D., describing the success of St. Augustine's Mission to England. In 582 A.D. the revolt of the Three Brothers[1] commenced, and was not suppressed for twenty years. The motive of the rising was a protest against the tyranny of the Imperial party.

Damian's successor in the Patriarchate was Anastasius, who was consecrated in 603 A.D. Notwithstanding the dangers to which he was exposed by his boldness, he visited Alexandria, held ordinations, and built a new church there, which he dedicated to St. Michael. Shortly afterwards Egypt was torn asunder by revolution. Heraclias, Governor of Africa, rose against the Emperor Phocas, put him to death, and possessed himself of the purple. During these troubles, Theodore, the successor of Eulogius, was murdered.

In 614 A.D., Chosroes, King of Persia, attacked and conquered Syria and Palestine, and soon threatened Egypt. It is satisfactory to note that during these troublous times—for the sufferings of the people were augmented by famine, owing to a failure of the Nile to rise to its requisite height—Anastasius, and the Melchite Patriarch who succeeded Theodore, John by name, vied with each other in relieving dis-

[1] Named Abaskiron, Mennas, and James.

tress. John, of course, was by far the richer, as all the endowments of the National Church had been confiscated for the benefit of the Byzantine (or Melchite) Patriarchs, and he thus earned the title of "The Almoner."

When Anastasius died, in 614 A.D., his successor, ANDRONICUS, was permitted to live openly in Alexandria, and, in presence of the foreign danger, peace was maintained between the two rival Churches. Six years later, the Persians conquered Egypt, and extended their rule to the borders of Ethiopia. In the same year (620 A.D.) John the Almoner died in Cyprus, whither he had fled, and a few months later Andronicus passed away.

The next Patriarch, BENJAMIN, who became Patriarch in 620 A.D., was a man of wealthy parentage, and had been a monk in the monastery of Deyr Kyrios. He was distinguished for his austerities, and his long continuance in prayer. In the year 629 A.D. Heraclius was successful in driving back the Persians, and re-establishing the Byzantine authority. Under the advice of Athanasius, Patriarch of Antioch, the Emperor embraced the doctrine that, although Our Saviour had two Natures, yet His Unity of Person entailed, as a necessary consequence, a Unity of Will and operation. This belief is known by the name of *Monothelitism*.[1] Cyrus, Bishop of Phasis, accepted the view, and was appointed by Heraclius as Melchite Patriarch of Alexandria, in succession to George, who had been elected to follow John the Almoner. Cyrus at once drew up a scheme, called the Act of Union, of which the seventh article declared that the Lord Jesus Christ "wrought the acts appertaining both to God and man by the one The-andric[2] operation." This scheme effected a nominal union between the rival Churches, although it was opposed by Sophronius,

[1] See p. 12.

[2] Θεανδρικὸς = Divinely-human.

the friend of John the Almoner, and ignored by Benjamin. Cyrus then endeavoured to force compliance with his views, and Benjamin was banished to a monastery in the Thebaid.

Such was the position of the miserable and distracted Church of Alexandria, when a new danger, more serious than any which had previously threatened it, loomed large on the horizon.

CHAPTER III.

The Mohammedan Conquest of Egypt.

The unhappy dissensions that arose in the Christian Church during the fifth century (the growth and progress of which has been briefly traced in the previous chapter), had a disastrous effect upon the world's history. The utter weakness to which the Eastern Church was reduced prepared the way for the spread of Mohammedanism, a creed that has, for the past twelve centuries, dominated a considerable portion of the world. Had Christianity been able to oppose a united front to the new crusade, it is more than probable that the teaching of Mahomet would have died with him. But the complete departure from the principles laid down by Jesus Christ for the government of His Church, and the absence of that spirit of brotherhood and love which He advocated both by His words and His example, drew down upon mankind the scourge of a false religion, against which Oriental Christianity has struggled in vain.

Born at Mecca, in the year 569 A.D., Mahomet was left an orphan at an early age. When eight years old, he was taken into the service of a rich widow, named Khadijah, who became his wife when he was twenty-four years of age, she being thirty-nine. Khadijah died after sixteen years of married life, having borne to Mahomet six children. Her influence for good over him was very great. Either shortly before, or just after, her death, he announced himself as a prophet, and began to publish the revelations that he alleged had been made to him by Allah. It will be noticed that these revelations frequently took the form of personal indulgence for his own gratification, by which he was enabled to override his own laws. This was notably the

case in regard to the permission he allowed himself to increase the number of his wives.

For several years his preaching gained but few converts. Suddenly, when he considered his position to be sufficiently strong, he adopted the tactics which he invariably employed later on towards those whom he vanquished in battle—viz., the choice between death or Islam.

Having conquered Arabia, Mahomet determined to attack the two great powers of the world, the Persian and Roman Empires. These, as he knew, were weakened by their long wars, and were unable to offer a determined resistance to an enthusiastic foe such as the Saracens, of whom he was the acknowledged leader. At the moment, however, when he was commencing his campaign against both these formidable antagonists, Mahomet died, A.D. 632, at the age of sixty-three.

Although there were dissensions among his successors,[1] the victorious march of events which commenced under the prophet was continued. Omar, who became ruler of the Saracens in place of Mahomet, and held the reins of government from 634 to 644 A.D., entrusted the conquest of Egypt to Amr.

Amr had already overrun Syria, and was marching westward, towards the frontier, when he received sealed orders from Omar, sent by the hand of a trusty messenger. In reply to a question as to the nature of the instructions contained in the packet which was handed to him, Amr learned that they commanded him, if he was already in Egypt on receipt of the letter, to go forward and subdue it; but if not, he was to return and report himself to Omar. Bidding the messenger retain the despatches, he immediately marched his army to El-Arish, a small town on the Egyptian side of the border between Africa and Syria. As soon as a halt was made, he demanded the documents, which he read

[1] Called Caliphs, which means "successor."

over with care. He then asked, with all seriousness, if he was in Egypt or not. On receiving an answer in the affirmative, he announced that he had received instructions from the Caliph to conquer the country.

At that time, the Government of Egypt was entrusted by the Emperor Heraclius to three Pagarchs, or Prefects. The Pagarch of Lower Egypt was Ammon-Menas—"a man," according to John of Nikius, "full of pretension, but very ignorant, who greatly detested the Egyptians, and had been continued in his office after the conquest of the country by the Arabs." The Pagarch of Middle Egypt was Cyrus, who was not averse to giving in his submission to the Saracens. The Pagarch of Upper Egypt was George, known as the Makaukas,[1] who was a Byzantine official, and a member of the National Church. It was he who betrayed the garrison of Babylon to the Saracens, thus enabling them to overcome the Egyptians. He was a traitor to his Emperor, a traitor to his Church, and a traitor to his country.

George had for many years collected the taxes, the greater portion of which he had appropriated for his own use. But when, after this system of peculation had been going on for some years, Heraclius requested that the revenues of Egypt should be paid over to him by the Pagarchs, George found himself in an extremely uncomfortable position. He had endeavoured to conciliate Mahomet by means of costly presents, and was consequently regarded by him with some degree of favour. When, however, "the prophet" died, there was considerable doubt in George's mind as to whether the Byzantine troops of Heraclius, or the invaders under Amr, would prove victorious; and the Pagarch, therefore, thought it well, on the principle of making friends with both sides, to endeavour to propitiate the Emperor.

[1] μεγαυχὴς, meaning "most glorious"—a title corresponding to "His Excellency," by which Ambassadors are designated.

With this end in view, he determined to offer his daughter Armenosa, a remarkably beautiful girl, in marriage to Constantine, the Emperor's son, who was a widower. As Constantine seemed agreeable to the arrangement, the bride-elect was sent to Cæsarea from Babylon, in the autumn of 639 A.D., attended by a numerous suite, and with an escort of several thousand troops. On arriving near the frontier, Armenosa heard that the Saracens were not only besieging Cæsarea, but were on the point of invading Egypt, under the generalship of Amr. She thereupon fell back on Belbeis,[1] where she fortified herself and the troops that were with her—in the meantime despatching messengers to her father with all speed, warning him of the approach of the enemy.

Amr, marching west from El Arish through Kantara,[2] came straight to Belbeis, and prepared to besiege it. For more than a month Armenosa, with her small force, kept the Saracen army at bay. At length the town was taken by assault, and the brave young defender, with all the treasure that formed her dowry, fell into the hands of the Moslem general. Amr, who was a noble warrior, respected the courage of Armenosa. He spared the garrison, and allowed the brave young girl to return to her father, treating her as an honoured foe. From that time forward, the Pagarch decided that the Moslems were the stronger force, and that it was to his interest to secure their friendship.

The victorious Saracens next proceeded to attempt the capture of Babylon. Babylon, which was strongly fortified, and well garrisoned with Imperial troops, was connected with the island of Rhoda by a bridge of boats. It was here, if anywhere, that resistance must be made to the advance of the Mohammedans. The Pagarch George, while professing allegiance to the Emperor, and remaining on cordial

[1] The town still exists, some twenty miles south of Zagazig, on the borders of the Arabian desert.

[2] Half-way between Port Said and Ismailia.

terms with the commander of the garrison, was, throughout the siege, in constant and secret communication with the enemy.

Heraclius, learning how seriously his Egyptian territory was threatened, despatched the Byzantine Patriarch, Cyrus, to treat with Amr, and, if possible, to bribe him to withdraw his troops. When Cyrus arrived on the spot, the Moslems had already commenced the siege of Babylon, which was closely invested. The Patriarch offered, on behalf of the Emperor, the payment of a large tribute to the invaders, as well as the hand of Eudocia (daughter of Heraclius) in marriage to the Caliph Omar—"whom," said Cyrus to the Byzantine general, "she would doubtless convert." Amr, however, rejected the offer, preferring to treat with the Pagarch, whom he considered more powerful than the Emperor. Cyrus, with the usual fate of the intermediary, incurred the displeasure of Heraclius, chiefly owing to his presumption in offering the royal princess in marriage to a pagan, and his life was for some time in danger from the anger of the Emperor.

Amr occupied no less than seven months in his endeavours to capture Babylon. The fall of that stronghold was at last effected, but whether by treachery, or by stratagem, it is impossible to say. The popular story is that the Pagarch persuaded the garrison to retire from the fortress to the island of Rhoda, and that the Arabs, having received timely warning, at once occupied the city. But the narrative of John of Nikius[1] seems the more probable. He states that Amr, by pretending defeat, drew the greater part of the garrison outside, when another detachment of the Moslems cut off their retreat. A battle ensued, in which the losses on both sides were very heavy, but the remnant of the Imperial troops retreated to the island of Rhoda. With consummate bravery, they fought their way

[1] See Butcher's Story of the Church of Egypt, vol. i. p. 363.

north to Alexandria. Here were collected all the Byzantines who had been able to make good their escape, and it was nearly fourteen months before that city surrendered to the conquerors, in December, 641 A.D.

Terms of peace were made, by which the Moslems undertook not to appropriate or destroy the Christian Churches, nor to interfere with the Christians in their religious affairs; while the latter, on their part, promised to live peaceably under the rule of the Arabs, and to pay a regular fixed tribute. The Byzantine troops were to be immediately withdrawn, and engage never to re-enter the country. In spite of these arrangements, however, many of the churches were burnt during the siege, including that of St. Mark, in which were preserved the relics of the Evangelist. The magnificent library was destroyed by order of the Caliph Omar, who stated that if the books agreed with the Koran, they were superfluous, and if they differed from it, they were pernicious; so that, in either case, they were to be burnt.

The Moslem general, Amr, regarding Cyrus as being connected with the Byzantine civil power (to which, in fact, he owed his promotion to the Patriarchate), would have no dealings of any kind with him; but he received Benjamin, the Coptic Patriarch, with great honour and friendliness, and gave him a letter couched in the following terms:—"Let every place in which may be Benjamin, the Patriarch of the Coptic Christians, enjoy full security, peace, and trust from God; let him come with safety and fearlessness, and freely administer the affairs of his Church and people."[1]

Thus it was that Egypt came under the authority of a new race. The nation exchanged the tyranny of their Byzantine Christian rulers for the greater oppression of the Mohammedan Arabs. A grave injustice, however, has been done to the Egyptians by the majority of the historians who deal with that period. It has been asserted that their

[1] Severus ap. Renaud., pp. 163, 164.

religious hatred of those who accepted the Council of Chalcedon was so great, that they sold themselves to the Moslems, in order to spite the so-called Catholic party. The above brief narrative of the events which led up to the Mohammedan conquest of Egypt will shew how erroneous and unfair is such a view of the position.

It must be remembered that the Egyptian nation, which owed its Christianity to the preaching of the Evangelist, had been singularly unfortunate in its rulers. Up to the date of the Council of Nicæa (in 325 A.D.) the State religion was pagan; for the next forty years it was Arian; while from the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.), for nearly two hundred years, it was bitterly opposed to the religious convictions of the people of the country, and was perpetually endeavouring to enforce compliance with the decrees of a Council that had deposed the Patriarch of the National Church. However blameworthy the Egyptians may have been, in refusing to accept the doctrinal decisions of Chalcedon (it is a matter of doubt whether the Monophysite heresy really took deep root among them), the treatment they received, at the hands of successive Emperors and their representatives, was certainly not of a character to endear to them the ecclesiastical views which it was endeavoured to compel them to accept.

This being the case, it cannot be denied that the bulk of the nation regarded the contest between Byzantines and Moslems with supreme indifference. They had had experience of the severity of government by the former; of the latter they knew little, save that they were a circumcised race, who believed in God, and professed to be religious reformers. It seemed to them that their condition could not be worse under such rulers, than it had been for the past two centuries under the Emperors of Constantinople.

The Coptic Church of to-day, which claims to be the true successor of the Church founded by St. Mark, has—what-

ever its faults, for which it has indeed been bitterly punished—retained, with the utmost tenacity, and in face of twelve centuries of oppression and persecution, the faith which it is convinced has been entrusted into its safe keeping by Divine Providence. And we cannot but believe that its survival to the present day, and the gradual increase in its numbers which is now taking place, are a sign that—in spite of its rejection of one of the four General Councils, in spite of its support of a dangerous heresy, in spite of its unwillingness to join with the rest of Eastern Christendom in resisting the Moslem advance—it has been preserved, by the mercy of God, for some great work in the cause of Christianity in the future.

Cyrus died[1] in 643 A.D., and was succeeded by Peter II., who, however, appears to have lived in Constantinople. Beyond this, nothing is known of him.

The Mohammedan conquest by no means restored peace to Egypt. The assassination of the Caliph Omar, in 647 A.D., was followed by the recall of Amr, and another Viceroy of Egypt was appointed, who undertook a campaign against the Nubians, that lasted for many years. During this long period of unrest, the Patriarch Benjamin laboured unceasingly to strengthen and consolidate the National Church, and to restore the monasteries that had been destroyed. One of his last official acts was to consecrate a new church, dedicated to S. Macarius. He died in 659 A.D.

His successor was AGATHO, who had for some years acted as his coadjutor. He was able to win over many of the Gaianites[2] to the Church, but his Patriarchate was not happy or peaceful. He was greatly troubled by the following circumstance:—A certain Byzantine Christian, named Theodosius, obtained from the Caliph a considerable degree

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[1] According to Severus, he was poisoned, but there seems to be no evidence in support of this statement.

[2] See p. 43.

of authority over the Christians of Alexandria and Mareotis, and, under the powers granted to him, endeavoured to exact extortionate contributions from the Patriarch for the benefit of the Moslem authorities. Agatho declined to pay what was demanded, whereupon Theodosius gave orders that, if he appeared beyond the precincts of his own house, he was to be stoned.

Agatho died in 677 A.D., and was succeeded by JOHN III.[1] Being chiefly occupied with the affairs of the Church, he omitted, after his consecration, to send complimentary presents to the new Emir. The latter, offended at the slight put upon him, listened readily enough to the slanders uttered by the Patriarch's enemies, who assured the Governor that John was very rich, and could well afford to make a large contribution. He demanded a fine of 100,000 pieces of gold, which John was, of course, unable to pay out of his own resources; whereupon the unhappy Patriarch was imprisoned and tortured, because he refused to give up the funds of the Church. He was ultimately released on the payment of a ransom of 10,000 pieces, which the Egyptian Christians collected among themselves. The Patriarch was set free on Maundy Thursday, and, immediately on his release, he went to the pro-Cathedral, in order to perform the customary washing of the feet of beggars, after which he celebrated the Holy Eucharist.

It was John who undertook the re-building of St. Mark's Cathedral at Alexandria, which was completed in three years. Save for the cruel treatment to which he was personally subjected, the Church was exempt from persecution during his occupancy of the See. He did not attend the sixth Œcumenical Council, which was held at Constantinople in 680 A.D., but was represented there by Peter, Vicar of the Apostolic throne. At that Council, Macarius, Patri-

[1] Called Semnudæus, or Sebennytos, probably meaning "of Samanhoud."

arch of Antioch, was condemned and deposed for holding the doctrine of Monothelitism.[1] A former Pope of Rome, named Honorius, was also anathematized, and this sentence was confirmed by Leo II., who became Pope in 682 A.D., and was repeated by succeeding Roman Pontiffs for upwards of three hundred years. This would appear to throw some doubt on the modern theory of Papal Infallibility!

Isaac succeeded to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, on the death of John III., in 686 A.D. He was a monk of the convent of St. Macarius. Shortly after his succession, he endeavoured to restore peace between the King of Nubia and the Emperor of Ethiopia, and wrote letters urging them to come to terms. The Emir, Abdul-Aziz, regarded this as an act of political interference and intrigue, and, having had the Patriarch arrested, ordered him to be beheaded. The sentence was delayed till the messengers could be overtaken, and the letters (in which certain expressions uncomplimentary to the Moslems appear to have been used) handed over to him. By substituting other letters, in which the references to Mohammedanism were of a laudatory character, the friends of the Patriarch secured his release.

Abdul, however, soon afterwards commenced a persecution of the Christians. He broke the gold and silver crosses used in the churches, and over the doors of the sacred buildings he caused the following sentences to be inscribed: "Mahomet, the great Apostle of God, and Jesus Christ, the Apostle of God. God neither begetteth, nor is begotten." When the plague broke out at Fostat,[1] the Emir moved to Helouan, where he constructed a handsome town. He forced the Christians to labour at his building

[1] See Mosheim, i. 167.

[2] A city close to Babylon, built on the site of Amr's tent. The story goes that, after the capture of Babylon, it was discovered that a pair of doves had built their nests in the roof of the tent, and the young ones were not yet fledged. Amr gave orders that the tent should not be disturbed till his return from Alexandria.

operations, permitting them, in return for their services, to erect one or two churches there for their own use.

Isaac died in 688 A.D., and the Egyptians selected as his successor the Abbot of the monastery of Nitria, named John. But the Emir chose a Syrian monk from the same monastery, SIMON by name, and ordered him to be consecrated to the Patriarchate. John readily yielded up his right, and Simon appointed him as his coadjutor, and consulted him in all ecclesiastical matters. One of the first acts of Simon was to make John, Bishop of Nikius (the celebrated historian of the Egyptian Church), superintendent of the monasteries, with orders to reform the abuses that had crept into the system. So rigorous was the rule of the latter, that a monk, convicted of adultery, was scourged, by the Bishop's orders, with such severity that he died a few days later. This act aroused the greatest indignation, and John was, in consequence, deprived of his position, and deposed from his bishopric.

During Simon's Patriarchate, a Council of the Egyptian bishops, to the number of sixty-four, was held at Babylon, in 695 A.D., to discuss the question of divorce, a large number of the Christians having adopted the Mohammedan custom of divorcing their wives on the most trivial pretext.[1] But, during the sessions of the Council, news arrived that a revolution had broken out in Constantinople, and that the Emperor Justinian had been deposed. Abdul, conjecturing that the power of the Greek Empire was thus seriously shaken, commenced to harass the Christians, and desisted from any further efforts to conciliate them. The Patriarch soon afterwards came under his displeasure.[2]

Simon died in 700 A.D., from, it is stated, the effects of poison administered to him by the Moslems. For three

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[1] Severus ap. Renaud., p. 183.
[2] See chap. vii.

years the Bishops did not dare to elect his successor, and during that period the affairs of the Church were administered by Gregory, Bishop of Kais. At length, in 703 A.D., ALEXANDER II., a Nitrian monk, was chosen as Patriarch. Soon afterwards, a persecution was set on foot by Asabah, Abdul's son, who practically held the reins of power under his father. He specially directed an attack on the monks, whom he robbed and oppressed; but, according to Egyptian writers, he ultimately incurred the Divine vengeance, and was duly punished. Entering one of the churches at Helouan, he spat upon an Ikon of the Virgin and Child, swearing, in blasphemous language, that he would exterminate Christianity. The same night he had a vision of the Judgment-seat of God, which he related to his father; and a few hours later, he was seized with a violent fever, and died, Abdul surviving him only a few weeks.

The new Emir, Abdallah by name, was a son of the Caliph, Abdul-Melech, and it is recorded of him that he invented every kind of torture by which he could oppress the Christians. When Alexander waited on him, to compliment him on his accession, Abdallah threw him into prison, demanding three thousand gold pieces as his ransom. The Patriarch was released on bail, and went on a begging tour throughout the Delta, being at last successful in collecting the required amount. The result was that, as the Christians appeared better off than he thought, the Emir trebled their tribute for the following year. So cruel was the persecution under this ruler, that many embraced the Mohammedan faith. Matters, however, grew even worse under Korah, Abdallah's successor. The Patriarch was again condemned to pay what he had previously done, and once more he set forth on a begging tour.

The next charge against him was that he had established a private mint at the Patriarchate, but, although a rigorous search failed to discover the slightest trace of such a manufactory, Alexander was cruelly scourged. All the Church

plate was confiscated, so that it became necessary to celebrate the Holy Mysteries in glass and wood, instead of gold and silver.

Under Korah's successors, Theodore and Assama, the cruelties perpetrated on the Christians increased tenfold. They were blinded, mutilated, and tortured without the slightest pretext or reason, and their possessions were confiscated to the Emir. In order to prevent them from emigrating, a law was passed by which no one was allowed to move, even from one part of the country to another, without a special passport, which cost ten gold pieces.[1] The story is told that a poor woman was travelling with her son, who carried both passports, when he was seized by a crocodile, as he was drinking from the Nile, and devoured. The unhappy mother, who was penniless, had to sell her clothes and beg from door to door, to procure sufficient money for purchasing another passport, otherwise she would have been arrested, and condemned to the amputation of both her hands.

At length, after many years of suffering, in a continued struggle against the brutalities of the Emirs towards his flock, Alexander died, A.D. 726.

Cosmas, a monk of the monastery of St. Macarius, succeeded to the Patriarchate, but died the following year, and under him the position of the Christians was improved. He even prevailed upon the Emir to give permission for the rebuilding of the Church of Mari Mena, at Fostat. At this time the country was ravaged by the double scourge of famine and pestilence, which lasted for some years.

Theodore, a monk of Mareotis, succeeded Cosmas in 727 A.D. He did all that he could to protect his flock from the fresh persecution that broke out under Khandala, the new Emir, during which the Christians were branded,

[1] A dinar, or gold piece, was worth about 12s.

and their taxes increased. After presiding over the See for eleven years, Theodore died in 738.

Several years elapsed before his successor was appointed, owing to disputes between the Bishops of Egypt and the Presbyters of Alexandria, as to the most acceptable candidate. At length, on the advice of Moses, the venerable Bishop of Wissim, a monk named MICHAEL was unanimously chosen, and was consecrated in 743 A.D.

While these dissensions were at their height, the Melchite Church took the opportunity of reviving the Patriarchate, which had been vacant since the flight of Peter, just a century before. To so low a pitch had this Church fallen, that the best man they could find for the position was Cosmas, a needle-maker, who could neither read nor write.[1] He was received with honour by the Caliph, who thought that a rivalry in the Patriarchate would weaken the authority of the head of the National Church, and who, with this object in view, handed over many of the sacred buildings to the Melchites.

During the first few years of Michael's episcopate, the persecution of the Christians was renewed with terrible severity. Thousands fell away from the faith; many of the Bishops withdrew into hiding; and hundreds of children were sold into slavery, in order to provide the money needed to satisfy the rapacity of the Moslems. Michael did his utmost to encourage the sufferers, and persuade them to remain constant, and Moses, Bishop of Wissim, laboured untiringly to the same end.

After a rapid succession of governors, each worse than his predecessor, the rulership of Egypt fell into the hands of Hassan, in 748 A.D., who treated the Christians kindly. The next few years were mainly occupied by the Patriarch in receiving back into the Church those who had apostasised

[1] Eutych., ii. 385.

during the persecution. The usual probation of penitence required was either three or six years.

Cosmas, finding that the Government was favourable to the Church, appealed to Hassan's successor, Abdel-Melech, to order the Church of Mari Mena[1] to be handed over to the Melchites. After a lengthened discussion, during which both Patriarchs submitted their claims in writing,[2] the Church was adjudged to Michael, on the ground that it had been completed by the Patriarch Timothy.

Shortly afterwards, a contest arose among the Moslems, between the Ommyadæ and the Abbasidæ, in regard to the Caliphate. The latter were successful, and Meruan, the last of the Caliphs of the former dynasty, was driven into Egypt. Meanwhile, Abdel-Melech recommenced to persecute the Church. The Patriarch Michael, Moses, Bishop of Wissim, and three hundred Christians of both sexes, were thrown into prison. This so infuriated the people, that they rose against the Governor, and were for a time victorious. Michael had been set at liberty through the intervention of the King of Nubia, who had sent a strong force into Egypt, and we find that Michael and Cosmas, sinking their theological differences and rivalries, placed themselves side by side at the head of the national revolt. Meruan, having been reinforced with troops, came to the assistance of Abdel-Melech, and, in a chance skirmish, the two Patriarchs were taken prisoners. Cosmas purchased his liberty by paying a thousand pieces of gold, and fled the country. Michael was scourged, and ordered to be beheaded, but, before the sentence could be carried into effect, Meruan decided that he might be used as a medium of negotiation with the insurgents, and his life was accordingly spared.

In 751 A.D. Abdallah, the leader of the Abbasidæ, entered

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[1] See p. 59. Also Book II. ch. i.

[2] Neale's bias is shown in a remarkable degree in this matter. He gives, not the arguments put forward by Cosmas, but the arguments which he ought to have used! See Holy Eastern Ch., vol. ii. p. 113.

Egypt with his army in order to crush his rival, Meruan. The Christians, writhing under the cruelties of the latter, and despairing of succour, made terms with Abdallah. In revenge for this, Meruan tortured the Patriarch and Moses, Bishop of Wissim, and threatened them with death. A brief respite was granted, during which Michael pronounced over his kneeling companion the beautiful prayer of Absolution, from the Canon of the Coptic Church.[1] At its close, the son of Meruan appealed to his father to spare the bishops, on the ground that their execution would only embitter the Christians, and render the Caliph's position more precarious. The Patriarch and Moses were remanded to prison, and the next day Meruan was slain in battle by the victorious Abbasidæ. The Bishops were immediately released, and for the next four or five years the Christians enjoyed peace, and freedom from oppression.

Michael was presiding, shortly afterwards, over the annual Synod of the Bishops. The Nile having failed to attain to its usual height,[2] fears were entertained that a famine would ensue; whereupon a solemn procession was formed at the Great Church of St. Peter, at Misra,[3] which marched to the river, headed by the Patriarch, and prayers were offered up to God that the water might attain to the necessary level. The result of this intercession was that the Nile rose an additional cubit. The Emir, so runs the story, was unwilling that the Christians should gain the credit for this miracle, and ordered his followers the next day to pray for a further miracle. During the Moslem devotions the water fell one cubit. Then the order was issued that neither Christian nor Moslem was to interfere, and the level

[1] This prayer is preserved in the Life of Michael, written by John the Deacon, and a translation is given in Neale's Holy Eastern Ch., vol. ii. pp. 116, 117.

[2] Fifteen cubits was the minimum height for securing irrigation for the crops. On this occasion the river only rose to the height of fourteen cubits.

[3] Old Cairo.

of the Nile remained stationary. At last, the Christians were ordered to pray once more, and the river rose to the height of seventeen cubits.[1] This wonderful phenomenon obtained for the Church a period of tranquillity and peace for some years.

Before long, however, a serious trouble threatened to disturb this happy condition of affairs. Isaac, Bishop of Harran, had secured the favour of the Emir Abdallah, who nominated him Patriarch of Antioch. As translations from one See to another were forbidden by the Canons of the East, the Bishops of the province refused to proceed to the election of Isaac, who thereupon, by virtue of the authority conferred on him by the Emir, caused the two Metropolitans, by whom he had been most strenuously opposed, to be put to death. The matter was referred to Michael, and he immediately called a Council of the Egyptian Bishops at Old Babylon, in 755 A.D., to consider the course to be pursued. After deliberating for a month—fearing that a refusal to acknowledge Isaac might bring down on their Church a repetition of the sufferings from which it had only just been freed—the Bishops requested the Patriarch to decide the question on his own responsibility. Michael, without hesitation, announced that nothing would persuade him to consent to so gross an infringement of the Canons. He was then ordered to present himself before the Emir in Syria; but, just as he was on the point of starting, the news reached him of the death of Isaac. The Patriarch lived on for about eleven or twelve years, his long and useful career being closed by his death, in 767 A.D.

Mennas succeeded Michael as Patriarch in 767 A.D. For some years he was enabled to carry on his work without hindrance, but, unfortunately, the peace was broken by a deacon of the Church of Alexandria, named Peter. Irritated with Mennas for refusing to raise him to the episco-

[1] Severus ap. Renaud., p. 231.

pate, Peter went to Bagdad, and obtained an order from the Caliph that he was to supersede the Patriarch. The latter summoned a Council of the Bishops, and, while they were in session, Peter arrived, clad in the Patriarchal vestments, and supported by a troop of soldiers. The aged Bishop of Wissim indignantly drove the intruders from the church, but the prelates were overpowered, and were seized and imprisoned.

The Egyptian Emir, failing to obtain from Mennas, either by entreaties or bribes, the sacred vessels (which he wished to send as a gift to the Caliph), condemned the Patriarch and the other Bishops to labour as convicts in the Alexandrian docks. The people rose in revolt at this insult, and it was some time before the Moslems were able to suppress the rising. A new Emir reinstated the Bishops, and threw Peter into prison, where he remained for three years, when, on regaining his liberty, he renewed his plots against the Patriarch, but without success. Mennas died in 775 A.D.

After the death of Mennas, the Patriarchate was left vacant for over a year. At length it was decided to refer the election to the Divine judgment by means of the Heikeliet[1]—a system that was always subsequently employed when the election was not unanimous. A hundred monks were chosen, and these were, by a process of exhaustion, reduced to fifty, then to twenty-five, then to ten, and finally to three. If the electors unanimously called out the name of one of the three, he was forthwith elected. If not, the three names were written on strips of parchment, a fourth strip containing the name of Jesus, the Good Shepherd. These were placed in an urn under the Altar; the Holy Communion was celebrated; and prayers were offered day and night for one, two, or three days. This done, a little child was directed to choose one piece of parchment,

[1] From *heikal*, "the sanctuary," because the lots were cast in the sanctuary.

and the candidate whose name was inscribed was forthwith elected. If the name of Jesus was drawn out, the whole process was repeated.

The Patriarch who succeeded Mennas, in 776 A.D., JOHN IV., was called to the episcopate in the above manner. He presided over the See for twenty years, and one of his principal occupations was the rebuilding of the churches that had been destroyed by the Moslems. Amongst others, he restored the Church of St. Michael the Archangel at Alexandria, although he had to pay a heavy fine to the Caliph, on the frivolous ground that he had encroached on public land for the enlargement of the sacred edifice. He also devoted himself to making provision for the sufferers from the famine that had devastated Egypt in his time.

In 754 A.D. a Council, attended by 338 Bishops, was held at Constantinople, which decreed that any one who possessed an image, whether shown openly, or concealed, in the church or in a private dwelling, was to be anathematised. In 787 A.D. a Council was held at Nicæa, the main purpose of which was to condemn the Iconoclastic resolutions passed at Constantinople. Michael did not attend the former, nor John the latter. Indeed, it is doubtful if either of them was even invited.

The Melchite Patriarch at this time was Politian, who was versed in the science of medicine. Having been summoned to Bagdad by the Caliph, Haroun-al-Raschid, to cure a favourite slave-girl, he was rewarded by a promise that certain churches in Alexandria, belonging to John as Patriarch, should be handed over to him.

John died in 799 A.D., and his successor was MARK II., the first Patriarch who bore the name of the great Evangelist, the founder of the Alexandrian Church. Mark was a man of considerable learning and ability, and by his tact he reconciled the sect of the Barsanuphians, which had

existed from the fourth century, to the communion of the Church. When a civil war broke out on the death of Haroun—occasioned by his two sons fighting for the Caliphate—large numbers of Christians were taken prisoners; and Mark, who made no distinction between Monophysites and Melchites, offered to buy, from the leader of the invading force, as many of the captives as he was willing to sell. Six thousand persons thus came into his hands, and to each he presented a deed of freedom, and provided with necessaries those who wished to return to their homes. Of the Melchite Patriarch, Christopher, we read nothing during this period. He had been paralysed soon after his consecration, and was thus incapacitated from active work. Before the disturbances were ended, Alexandria was sacked, the great Church of St. Saviour was destroyed by fire, and many Christians were massacred. The Patriarch escaped, and remained in hiding in one of the desert monasteries, although he was able to exercise a spiritual supervision over his flock. He died of a fever, in 819 A.D.

His successor, JACOB, was unwilling to be elected, but ultimately yielded to the persuasion of the people. His life was threatened by the tyrannous Emir, Abdel-Aziz, but he was saved by the sudden death of his persecutor. Such was the fame of Jacob, that Dionysius, Patriarch of Antioch, paid him a lengthened visit. His testimony to the character of the Egyptian Patriarch and Bishops is interesting. He says of them that they were "deeply religious, humble, and rich in the love of God. They treated us with all distinction, giving us the same honours all the time we were in Egypt as to their own Pope."

Both Jacob and Dionysius used their utmost powers of persuasion to prevent the Christians of Egypt from making a final attempt to throw off the Moslem yoke, but in vain. For a long time they were victorious, but when the Caliph sent large reinforcements, they were utterly defeated;

thousands of males were slain; and the women and children taken as slaves to Bagdad. Thus at length—two hundred years after the first invasion of Egypt by Amr—the Christians were reduced to the position of a minority of the population. Hitherto the Moslems had been found mainly in the large towns and in the army of occupation. From this period onwards they settled in the villages, and many of the people in the country districts fell away from their ancient faith, and adopted that of their conquerors.

During the latter part of his tenure of the See, Jacob was protected by the friendship of the Emir, who respected his fearlessness and his devotion to duty. The Patriarch, however, was broken-hearted at the miseries which his flock had brought on themselves, and at the sufferings they had to endure. He died in 836 A.D.

His successor was SIMON II., who only held the Patriarchate for five months. On his death, there was a strong party in favour of choosing Isaac, a rich man of noble family. Being a married man, however, he could not canonically hold the position.

Accordingly he was rejected, and JOSEPH,[1] Abbot of St. Macarius, was elected, in 837 A.D. The Emir of Alexandria, before whom Joseph appeared for the confirmation of his election, thinking that the wealthy Isaac would have been a mine of wealth to him, refused to allow Joseph to be enthroned, unless he paid a thousand pieces of gold. This attempted extortion was frustrated by the decision of the Bishops to consecrate the Patriarch at Babylon, which was outside the Emir's jurisdiction.

Joseph was a man of great gentleness, of commanding power, and was filled with the true spirit of Christian charity. It was his influence which persuaded the Caliph

[1] Generally called Yuçab.

to prohibit the Emirs from persecuting the Christians, so that for some years they had comparative immunity from suffering and oppression. He was enabled, by tact and persuasion, to save the Kingdom of Nubia from the horrors of an unequal war with the Moslem forces; and when George, the son of the reigning King, came on a visit to Egypt, the Patriarch gave him wise advice, and consecrated for him a portable wooden altar, which the King could always take with him on his journeys.

Joseph was also instrumental in composing the differences that had arisen between the Queen of Abyssinia and the Abuna of that country;[1] and, not content with these valuable results of his labours, he occupied himself with the establishment of new episcopal Sees in remote portions of his Patriarchate, as, for example, in the island of Socotra, and along the Red Sea littoral.

Another interesting fact connected with the life and work of Joseph, was the close friendship which he formed with the Melchite Patriarch Sophronius, who was a man of great learning, but by no means so strong a character as Joseph. After the centuries of bitterness and hostility that had divided the chief pastors of the two rival branches of the Church of Christ in Egypt, it is satisfactory to find these Patriarchs sinking their differences, and working together for the promotion of the faith.

Joseph, however, was not destined to enjoy complete immunity from anxiety and trial. A priest named Theodore was desirous of succeeding Isaac in the See of Wissim, but was not popular in the diocese. When the Patriarch refused to consecrate him in opposition to the wishes of the people, he appealed to the Emir, who issued a mandate for that purpose, but Joseph refused to obey it. The result was that orders were given to destroy all the churches in Fostat and Babylon. When the work of demolition had proceeded

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[1] See chap. vii.

for some time, the Patriarch yielded to the entreaties of the Christians, that he would put a stop to the ruin that was being inflicted on them by consecrating Theodore. He was also compelled to pay a fine of three thousand pieces of gold for his first refusal, and this sum was raised among the wealthier members of his flock.

In the dispute with the Bishop of Babylon Joseph fared better. The former prelate wished to raise his bishopric to the rank of a Metropolitan See, which should be independent of the Patriarch, and brought a suit with this object in the Mohammedan courts of law. Joseph was able to produce a decree passed by the late Caliph, Almamon, to the effect that no Christian in Egypt was exempt from the authority of the National Patriarch, and judgment was given against the claimant.

The later years of Joseph were full of trials. A Melchite architect, named Eleazar, obtained the Caliph's authority to confiscate, for the building of a church for his communion, any marbles that belonged to the National churches. He came to Egypt, and proceeded to remove the exquisite columns of the Church of Mari Mena, in the Mareotis. Joseph, who had pleaded with him to desist, did what he could to repair the loss. It is reported that years after, during the Patriarchate of Joseph's successor, Eleazar was struck with remorse, and sent a large sum of money to Michael, so that, as far as possible, the damage he had done might be repaired.

When Dionysius, the Patriarch of Antioch, died, his successor, John by name, sent synodal letters to Joseph, who journeyed from Babylon to Alexandria to meet the legates. The Emir took the opportunity of arresting Joseph, and publicly scourging him before the visitors, who were filled with admiration at his courage and patience. The Moslem ruler further trumped up a false charge against the Patriarch, of treasonable correspondence with the Byzantines, and threw him into a narrow dungeon, where he was

daily beaten. A ransom of a thousand pieces of gold was demanded for his release, which was quickly collected by the Christians, and paid to the Emir.

But the ill-treatment told upon the Patriarch's health, and he died a few weeks afterwards, in 849 A.D., his persecutor pre-deceasing him by a few days.

Joseph's successor was MICHAEL,[1] who was compelled to pay so enormous a sum of money to the Emir on his consecration, that he had to sell some of the Church plate before he could make up the amount. He died in 850 A.D., after holding the Patriarchate for a year and five months.

Michael was succeeded, in 851 A.D., by COSMAS II., in whose time the Christians suffered numerous indignities by order of the Caliph Mutiwakil. They were compelled to wear, as a mark of ignominy, fringes of different colours over their clothes; to ride only on asses and mules; to use only wooden stirrups, and ropes instead of bridles. The men were obliged to wear girdles, which they particularly disliked, while the women, to whom the girdle was a distinguishing mark of feminine modesty, were forbidden to wear them. Every householder had to place over his door the wooden figure of an ape, a dog, or a devil. All the Christians employed in Government offices were dismissed. Churches recently erected were pulled down, lights and processions in Divine service were disallowed, and the use of the cross was prohibited. The funeral service was not allowed to be read over the deceased, nor the Holy Eucharist to be celebrated; and, the better to enforce this latter restriction, the sale and purchase of wine throughout Egypt was forbidden. The Christians imported raisins, which they bruised in water, and the juice thus obtained was used as Sacramental wine. It was under stress of persecution, and not from

[1] Or Chail II.

choice, that they thus, for a time, used unfermented wine for the Blessed Sacrament, the validity of which has been called in question by many theologians.

In 852 A.D., the Byzantines made an attempt to regain possession of Egypt, and occupied Damietta for a short period; but this served only to irritate the Moslems yet more, and the miseries of the Christians then attained to such a pitch that it is almost impossible to realise all that they had to endure.

Cosmas died in 859 A.D., within a few months of the death, from dropsy, of the Melchite Patriarch Sophronius.

CHAPTER IV.

The Coptic Church in the Middle Ages.

The Patriarch Cosmas was succeeded, after an interval in which differences of opinion prevented the Bishops from arriving at a unanimous decision, by Shenouda,[1] Treasurer of the Church of St. Macarius, in 859 A.D. It is stated that, while the prelates were taking part in the Holy Communion, prior to holding a Council to select a successor to Cosmas, Shenouda entered the church at the moment when the words, "It[2] is meet and worthy" were being sung. This was regarded as a Divine testimony to his suitability for the position.

As soon as the appointment was made, the Emir ordered Shenouda to be arrested, as a means of exacting a fine from the Christians; but the Patriarch escaped, and visited various monasteries, the Moslems being unable to trace him. When, however, he heard that the clergy were being robbed and persecuted on his account, he returned and gave himself up to the authorities. No less a sum than four thousand pieces of gold was extorted as the price of his liberty.

Shortly afterwards, the Moslems were brought to the verge of civil war by the rivalries for the Caliphate. When the disturbances had subsided, two men of position among the Egyptian Christians set out, with the consent of Shenouda, for Bagdad, and secured from the reigning Caliph, Mustanzir, a deed by which all the lands, churches, monasteries, and Church plate, that had been unjustly taken from the Christians by former Emirs, should be restored. The Patriarch at once sent copies of this valuable document to

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[1] Sometimes called Sanutius.

[2] Or, 'He is meet and worthy,' there being no neuter gender in Coptic.

all the Bishops throughout the country. "And thus," says Severus, "the churches were rebuilt from Farma to Assouan, and religion re-established." During this period of prosperity, Shenouda applied himself to the temporal, as well as the spiritual, wants of his flock. He built an aqueduct, and constructed cisterns, by which Alexandria obtained an excellent water supply. He was also successful in winning back to the Church a considerable number of *Quartodecimans*,[1] on whom he laid his hands in confirmation.

Shenouda was a theologian of great repute, and his paschal letters were highly valued. One of these is preserved by Renaudot, and was considered by many to be a faithful exposition of the teaching of St. Cyril; others, however, objected to the phraseology employed, which, in their opinion, implied that the Divine Nature of Christ had suffered and died.

It was Shenouda who inaugurated the custom, still observed among the Copts, of heading all letters and documents with the abbreviated words, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\overline{\text{YC}}$ $\overline{\text{ΘC}}$.[2]

In 868 A.D., Ahmed Ebn Touloun, a Turk, was appointed administrator of Egypt. He soon became powerful enough to defy the Caliph, and form the country into a Sultanate, although he acknowledged the spiritual authority of the descendants of Mahomet. He devoted himself to the construction of aqueducts, and other public works; and for some years, although he was perpetually making pecuniary exactions on the Patriarch (with a view to keeping him in poverty, and thus minimising the possibility of his becoming a formidable rival), the Christians were not called upon to endure any special hardships. But, in 880 A.D., a deacon, who had assumed the monastic habit, and then discarded

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[1] Those who kept Easter on the 14th day of the first Jewish month, on whatever day of the week it happened to fall. This was the original practice in the Eastern Church, but was condemned by the Council of Nicæa, which provided that Easter should always be celebrated on a Sunday.

[2] Ἰησοὺς Χριστὸς Υἱος Θεός—Jesus Christ, the Son, God.

it, was refused ordination to the priesthood by the Patriarch. Out of revenge, he accused Shenouda to Ahmed of having embezzled from him large sums of money. The Patriarch and all the Bishops were summoned, stripped of their episcopal robes, and promenaded through the city on asses without saddles, amid the jeers and insults of the mob. Shenouda, though suffering from gout, was kept in prison for thirty days, until he had the opportunity of disproving the charge. The deacon, being in fear of his life from the indignation of the Christians, appealed successfully to the Patriarch for pardon and protection; but, repeating the same vile slanders against others, he was arrested by the Emir's orders, and scourged to the point of death.

A similar accusation was brought against Shenouda, the following year, by a monk whom he had refused to ordain. This time the offence was alleged to be that the Patriarch possessed large sums of money, which he used for the purpose of proselytising among the Mohammedans. Ahmed promptly gave orders that Shenouda's chests should be examined, but nothing was found in them except a large number of old manuscripts, of which he was a collector.

About the year 880 A.D., Ahmed commenced the construction of the famous mosque which still bears his name.[1] Through the ingenuity of a Christian architect, who offered to build a finer structure than any of the Churches, and, obtaining the order for the work, proceeded to support the edifice on concrete piers instead of pillars, the Christian places of worship were saved from being demolished (in accordance with the common practice that had long prevailed among the Moslems) so that they might furnish the necessary supply of marble shafts.

Shenouda died in 881 A.D., and was succeeded by CHAIL III. (Michael), whose episcopate was more stormy and

[1] The Mosque, or Gamia, Ebn Touloun.

troubled than that of his predecessor. Shortly after his appointment, Michael was invited, with many of the Bishops, to attend the consecration of a new church, dedicated to St. Ptolemy, at Denuschar, a large town in the diocese of Xois.[1] The Bishop of Xois was not present when they arrived, and, in answer to enquiries made at his house, the Patriarch was informed that he was entertaining guests at a banquet.

At the request of the Bishops, Michael, after further delays, consented to celebrate the Holy Eucharist in the absence of the Diocesan. The Bishop of Xois, however, arriving during the progress of the service, demanded with much warmth why another prelate had the audacity to officiate in his diocese without permission. Advancing to the altar, he seized the offered bread, which had not been consecrated, flung it on the ground, and went out of the sacred building. The Patriarch then concluded the service.

Next day, however, the Bishops met in full Synod, and condemned and deposed the offending prelate, consecrating another in his place. The disgraced Bishop at once repaired to Ahmed at Babylon, and complained of the Patriarch, who, he insinuated, had sufficient wealth to defray the cost of the expedition which the Governor was then undertaking into Syria. Ahmed summoned Michael, and demanded the Church plate, and all the ornaments used in Divine worship except the vestments. The Patriarch refused to give them up, whereupon he was thrown into prison, where he remained for over a year. He was ultimately released on giving an undertaking to pay 10,000 gold pieces within one month, and a further sum of equal amount at the end of four months. The Emir's Secretary, John, and his son Macarius, went bail for the Patriarch. Michael commenced by selling some Church lands near Babylon, which had belonged to a colony of Abyssinians. Next, he transferred to the Jews of that city, for a pecuniary consideration, a ruined Melchite

[1] Now called Sakha, to the north of Tantah, in the Northern Delta.

church (which then belonged to the National Church), containing, so tradition maintained, the tomb of the Prophet Jeremiah. The church remains in their hands to this day, though the ancient roll of the Law, said to have been written by Ezra himself, has disappeared within the last thirty years.

The Bishops soon afterwards met in Synod, and decided that each would exact a small contribution from every member of his flock. But the amount raised by these means being totally inadequate for the purpose of the fine, it was suggested to the Patriarch that he might consecrate, as Bishops to fill the ten Sees that had become vacant during his imprisonment, only such men as would be willing to pay a handsome sum towards the total demanded by the Moslem Governor. Michael adopted this advice, and thus set the example (which he bitterly repented in after years) of simoniacal proceedings—a crime of which the English Church in former years was by no means innocent. In this way, and by depriving the monks of their seats in the parish churches, and then selling to them their rights over these stalls, a large portion of the 10,000 pieces of gold was secured. The remainder was raised by the members of the Church in Alexandria, in consideration of a promise from the Patriarch that he and his successors would pay an annual tribute of 1000 gold pieces to that Church

Soon afterwards, in 884 A.D., Ahmed Ebn Touloun died. One of the first actions of his son, who succeeded him, was to release Michael from the obligation to pay the second moiety of the fine, and to return the bond to him.

Michael died in 899 A.D., and the civil dissensions in the country were so great that the See remained vacant for several years. The Greek Patriarch Michael died about four years later. We have no record of his thirty-seven years' episcopate, beyond the fact that he wrote a letter congratulating Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, on his restoration to the See, from which he had been deposed

by the Eighth Œcumenical Council,[1] held at Constantinople in 870 A.D. His successor, Abdel Messiah,[2] a native of Aleppo, was consecrated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem in 906 A.D., but his foreign birth and ordination prevented him from obtaining much influence in Egypt, even over the Melchite Christians.

It was not until 910 A.D. that GABRIEL was elected as successor to Michael in the Patriarchate of the National Church. He was a devout monk, fitted more for a contemplative than an active life, and it was only on rare occasions that he emerged from the monastic privacy in which he delighted, in order to visit Babylon or Alexandria. He continued the practice of his predecessor, of requiring fees from the newly-elected Bishops, to enable him to provide the money for the annual payment to the Alexandrian clergy. Nor did he, as was hoped, remit the tax of one gold piece which Michael had imposed, on every member of his communion, as an expedient for meeting the extortionate demands of Ahmed Ebn Touloun.

Soon after Gabriel's accession, Egypt was once more made the battle-ground of contending Moslem factions. About the year 893 A.D. the Fatimite Arabs[3] had conquered Pentapolis, and their leader assumed the title of Caliph, fixing his capital at Cyrene. Having organized his forces, he invaded Egypt (in 913 A.D.) at the head of 40,000 men and seized Alexandria. The Christians, as usual, suffered heavily, and the Church of the Cæsarea, in that city, was burnt down.

Gabriel died in 921 A.D., and was succeeded by COSMAS III., whose episcopate was mainly occupied with the affairs of the Church of Abyssinia, as related below.[4]

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[1] The Latin Church regards this Council as Œcumenical, though the Eastern Church rejects it.

[2] Or Christodoulos.

[3] So called from their descent from Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet.

[4] See chap. vii.

His successor (A.D. 933) was MACARIUS, who owed much to the early training of his mother. After his consecration—thinking to give her pleasure—he paid her a visit, apparelled in his Patriarchal vestments, and accompanied by his Suffragan. To his astonishment she burst into tears, saying she would rather have seen him in his coffin than surrounded by so much pomp and magnificence; for, in the former case, he would have had to answer only for his own sins, while in the latter he would be responsible for the sins of his flock. Though his home had been in Alexandria, he could never be prevailed upon to take up his official residence there.

In the same year as he was elevated to the episcopate, Eutychius, the celebrated Christian annalist and historian, succeeded Christodoulos as Melchite Patriarch of Alexandria. Once more, the rivalries between the various factions among the Mohammedans inflicted grievous hardships upon the members of the Church, who were invariably taxed to meet the expenses of the different military expeditions. Eutychius died in 940 A.D., and for about 500 years—to so low a pitch of poverty and insignificance did the Greek Church in Egypt fall—we have no records of its history, and even the list of its patriarchs is imperfect and incomplete.

Macarius died in 953 A.D., and was succeeded by THEOPHANIUS, who was already advanced in years. Finding the annual tribute to the Alexandrian clergy (the original sum borrowed by Michael had been repaid over and over again) an insupportable burden, the Patriarch undertook a visit to the city, in order to make an appeal in person for the remission of the impost, or, at all events, for a substantial reduction. He was received with such studied rudeness that he sharply rebuked the clergy, who insolently replied that he had no authority to address them in that fashion, as they were his equals in everything but the Patriarchal vest-

ments he was wearing. Theophanius, who was suffering from latent cerebral disease, tore off his robes in a paroxysm of rage, and flung them at the feet of the clergy. His brain gave way through the strain of excitement, and it was found necessary to bind him. A hastily-summoned Synod of Bishops decided to remove him by water to Babylon, for medical advice. On the voyage his ravings became so terrible, and the blasphemies he uttered were so appalling, that one of the Bishops entered the hold in which he was confined and, either purposely or in self-defence, put an end to the Patriarch's life. So great was the horror inspired by his madness, that his body was not buried, but simply thrown overboard.

On the death of Theophanius, in 956 A.D., an aged monk was selected for the Patriarchate, but he refused to undertake the responsibility, and recommended MENNAS II., who was thereupon consecrated. During his episcopate, the condition of Egypt went from bad to worse, although the Christian King of Nubia made several attempts to break the power of the Moslems. In 963 A.D. the country was ravaged by a terrible famine, followed by a pestilence, which carried off 600,000 persons. Many of the Sees remained vacant, because all the Christians in the villages and towns of the various dioceses had died. Mennas took refuge in the house of a wealthy lady, named Dinah, in Lower Egypt, where he remained until his death, which occurred in 975 A.D.

In 968 A.D. the Fatimite Arabs once more invaded Egypt, under the able leadership of Jauher, and took the town of Fostat; and, two years later, commenced to build the present city of Cairo. In 972 A.D. the Caliph Moez[1] transferred to Cairo the seat of government. From this time onwards, until the days of Saladin, the country was lost,

[1] Or Muazzi.

both as regards spiritual and temporal power, to the Abbasidæ. The colour of the royal banner of the latter, and of the tapestry in the mosque, was black; Moez, by way of distinction, chose white for the Fatimites; and this custom prevailed among the rival African and Egyptian Mohammedans down to the present century. Although the conquest of Egypt was achieved with little opposition, the alternate threats and persuasions directed by Jauher against the King of Nubia were unavailing. The latter firmly declined, both for himself and his people, to become Moslems, and it was decided by the conquerors of Egypt not to attempt further the subjugation of the Southern Kingdoms of Nubia and the Soudan.

One of the first acts of the new Caliph, after taking up his residence in Cairo, was to commence the erection of a mosque, which was to eclipse those built by Amr and by Ahmed Ebn Touloun. This was the Gamia el Azhar, which at the present day is perhaps the most important Moslem university and mission centre in the world. A visit to this mosque gives some idea of the terrible spoliation of Christian places of worship which accompanied its construction—nearly every pillar having been taken from a church to adorn the hall of instruction.

On the death of Mennas, the Bishops assembled at the Church of St. Sergius[1] to choose his successor. A Syrian merchant, named Ephraem, of high character, and known to have influence with the Caliph, happened to enter the Church while the question was being discussed, and was unanimously elected to the Patriarchate. In the same year El Aziz, one of whose wives was a Christian of the Greek Church, became Caliph; and, at her instigation, El Aziz by his mandate alone (without even the formality of an election) raised her two brothers Arsenius and Jeremiah to the

[1] Now called Abu Sargah, and situated in Babylon.

Patriarchal (Melchite) thrones of Jerusalem and Alexandria. There is no record of any protest, on the part of the Greek Church, against so gross an act of Erastianism; the reason being that the condition of that Church in Egypt was so weak, that its leaders had no power to resist such a usurpation of their authority.

Ephraem set his face sternly against the two great evils of the day—simony and concubinage. The former had grown rapidly since the example in that direction had been first set by Michael; the latter was doubtless due to association with the Moslems, and was especially prevalent among the nominal Christians who held Government appointments. One of these, Abu el Serour by name, refused to conform to the rules of the Church, whereupon the Patriarch excommunicated him. Enraged at what he considered to be an indignity offered to him by this action, Serour caused Ephraem to be poisoned.

The Patriarch was enabled to secure from the Caliph the restitution of the site of the Church of St. Mercurius,[1] which had been ruined by the Moslems, and he took immediate steps for its restoration, although the Christians who worked at its re-building had to be protected by the troops from the attacks of the mob.

Philotheus succeeded Ephraem as Patriarch in 980 A.D. It was about this time that Severus, the celebrated Church historian, became Bishop of Ashmunen.[2] Hardly any of his voluminous writings have been printed, though a considerable portion of his historical chronicle, which was continued after his death by Bishop Michael of Tanis, has been preserved by Renaudot.

During the episcopate of Philotheus, a number of Moslems were converted to Christianity, among whom was Vasah,

[1] Now called Abu Sefayn, in Babylon.

[2] About 70 miles north of Assiout. It is the site of the ancient Hermopolis Magna.

whose father, Rejah, was one of the councillors of the Caliph. Vasah was a zealous Mohammedan, and is said to have known the Koran by heart. One day, while crossing the market-place of his native city, he saw a criminal being taken to execution, and, on enquiry, learnt that his only offence was that he had embraced Christianity. Vasah approached him, loaded him with insults, and struck him over the head with his sandal. The martyr retorted by assuring his tormentor that he would shortly embrace the Christian faith, propagate it, and suffer for it. Vasah was deeply touched by the martyr's bearing and courage, and was long haunted by the memory of the scene of the execution; nor was the impression then made on him weakened by a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return, when not far from Cairo, he lost his way in the desert, but was rescued by a horseman, who took him to one of the Christian churches of Babylon,[1] where he spent the night. The next day the Sacristan was astonished to find in the church a Moslem of position, and was still more surprised when Vasah, seeing the portrait of St. Mercurius in the church, identified the subject with his rescuer of the previous evening, and announced his intention of becoming a Christian. The priest of the church was informed, and Vasah received instruction and was baptized, taking the name of Paul. He was soon afterwards recognised by his friends, who by persecutions and threats endeavoured to shake his resolution. He remained firm, however, and returned to Cairo, where he publicly acknowledged his faith. The entreaties of his young wife, the insults heaped upon her by her own brother, and the murder of his child before his eyes by the hands of his father Rejah, were alike unavailing to turn him from his purpose. He was denounced as an apostate to the Caliph, who allowed him to depart to Upper Egypt, where he formed a friendship with Severus. He then retired to the borders of Ethiopia,

[1] It was the Church of Abu Sefayn (see above).

and built there a church dedicated to Michael the Archangel. Some years later he returned to Egypt, and sought ordination at the hands of the Patriarch. He refused to pay the fee demanded by Philotheus, but a layman who was present put an end to the dispute between them by handing over the money out of his own pocket. When Rejah heard that his son had become a priest, he hired a band of Arabs to murder him. They were unable, however, to do this, and Vasah died a natural death about two years later. He is said to have told a friend that he had only thrice in his life experienced real sorrow: once when his wife was insulted by her brother; once when his child was murdered; and once when Philotheus made the simoniacal demand in regard to his ordination.

The death of Philotheus took place in 1004 A.D. He was celebrating the Holy Communion when suddenly he became silent; a Bishop who was present concluded the service; and the Patriarch was removed to his house, but he never recovered consciousness.

His successor was ZACHARIAS, treasurer of the monastery of St. Macarius. Some years before his accession,[1] the Caliph El Aziz died, and was succeeded by his son Hakim, a boy of twelve. During the lifetime of his mother, who was a Christian, Hakim shewed no desire to persecute the Church; but, after her death, he pretended to have a Divine call to be a new prophet, holding direct communion with God, and his rage against the Christians was excited by their increasing prosperity. An unfortunate dispute within the Church led to the breaking out of the most cruel persecution that had overtaken the Christians since the Mohammedan conquest.

John, the parish priest of a village called Abu Nefer, applied personally to the Patriarch to be appointed to a

[1] viz., in the year 996 A.D.

vacant bishopric. This the Council refused, whereupon John made his way to Cairo, in order to appeal to the Caliph. The Christians of the Court dissuaded him, fearing that such a step might be made the pretext for a fresh persecution, and sent him back to Zacharias, accompanied by an urgent request from themselves that John's application might be granted. John was, however, intercepted by the Patriarch's nephew, Michael, Bishop of Xois, who caused him to be cast into a dry well, and stoned. John escaped, and, a further request to the Patriarch proving unsuccessful, laid his case before the Caliph, who immediately ordered Zacharias to be arrested and imprisoned, and three months later to be cast into a den of lions, which, however, could not be excited into attacking or even touching him.[1]

Hakim thereupon inaugurated a furious and unreasoning persecution against the Church. Gabriel, an officer of the Court, was scourged to death, expiring after enduring eight hundred lashes; Kahad, the Caliph's Secretary, was beheaded; and Jeremiah, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was Hakim's uncle, was brought to Cairo, tortured with fiendish ingenuity, and finally beheaded. Churches were destroyed and monasteries sacked; ecclesiastical endowments were confiscated; and the Christians were condemned to every possible indignity.

This condition of things continued for nine years, during which time Zacharias remained in prison. At length he was released, and a monk, who had gained some influence over the Caliph, introduced him to the Patriarch. He was much astonished to learn that the influence of this insignificant old man—extending, as it did, to Pentapolis and as far as Abyssinia—was far greater than his own, supported as it was by military forces. Hakim thereupon stopped the persecution, repealed the offensive laws he had passed, and

[1] This fact is testified to by both Christian and Moslem writers. Cf. Makrizi. § 430.

restored their property to the Christians. But the loss and destruction which had been effected during the ten previous years have left their mark on the Church of Egypt to this day.

Almost immediately afterwards (1020 A.D.) Hakim died, being assassinated at the instigation, it was said, of his sister, who acted as Regent to his son Zahir.

Zacharias survived Hakim about twelve years, and died, at a great age, in the year 1032 A.D. He was succeeded by SHENOUDA II., who surpassed his predecessors in his simoniacal exactions. The customary gift of £6000 to the Caliph, on the accession of a new Patriarch, was remitted at the request of Bekr, a Christian noble; but the demands of the Alexandrian clergy, for a renewal of the bond to pay them the annual tribute of a thousand gold pieces, gave Shenouda the excuse for selling the episcopal Sees to the highest bidder. He even went further, and claimed the personal property of every prelate who died. Bekr then undertook, with other lay friends, to be responsible for the Alexandrian payment, if Shenouda would put an end to the scandal of the traffic in bishoprics. The Patriarch consented, but was over-persuaded by the other Bishops, who resented lay interference. When Bekr had won the Bishops over to his view, Shenouda stood out; and, on Bekr remonstrating with him for his vacillation, the Patriarch caused him to be publicly beaten.

The character of Shenouda was truly contemptible, and his unscrupulous repudiation of solemn pledges brought the Church into sad disrepute. At this period, when the Christians were protected from oppression at the hands of the Moslems, a strong and honourable Patriarch might have raised their position to one of great power and dignity.

Shenouda died in 1047 A.D., after a long and painful illness extending over three years, and was succeeded by

Christodoulos. His first act, after his elevation to the Patriarchate, was to consecrate six new churches in Alexandria; to ordain one priest and sixty deacons; and to draw up a series of thirty-one Canons for the Egyptian Church, the first that had been added since the separation from the Greek and Roman Churches.

The uncompromising character of Christodoulos led to difficulties with the Court, over the following incident. The Patriarch was celebrating the Holy Eucharist with the usual Corban,[1] when a Syrian Christian of high rank (being the Caliph's physician), presented an oblation prepared, after the manner of the Syrians, with salt and oil. Christodoulos declined to accept it, and when the man persisted, ordered him to be expelled from the church.

The story of the martyrdom and courage of Nekam, who had apostatized to Mohammedanism, and returned to the faith,[2] is a bright spot in the history of the Egyptian Church of that period. This took place in the reign of Mustanzir, who succeeded his father Zahir.

In 1054 A.D. took place the great and final schism between the Eastern Churches and the Latin Church, brought about by the act of excommunication left on the altar of St. Sophia at Constantinople by the legates of Pope Leo IX.[3] The main point of difference was the question of the use of leavened[4] or unleavened bread, and the charge brought against the Greeks that they had expunged the Filioque clause from the Nicene Creed. The quarrel between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Church of Rome was taken up warmly by the Churches of Alexandria and Antioch; and it is an interesting and significant fact that the Roman Church stood alone (so far as Western Chris-

[1] The oblation, i.e., the cakes made of flour for the Holy Communion. See Book ii. ch. i. § 3.

[2] See Neale, Holy Eastern Ch., vol. ii. pp. 215, 216.

[3] Leo died before the Legates reached Constantinople.

[4] This was always used by the Greeks, the word ἄρτος signifying 'raised.'

tianity was concerned) in the dispute, there having never been a formal separation between the Anglican and the Oriental Churches.

The Christians of Egypt appear to have prospered considerably at this period. Christodoulos built numerous churches throughout the country, and erected an episcopal palace at Dimroua,[1] where he took up his residence. Some years later, a Cadi (or judge), passing through the town, was astonished at its magnificence and wrote to the Vizir, describing it as a second Constantinople, containing no less than seventeen churches. The newly-built places of worship were pulled down, and orders were given that all the churches throughout Egypt were to be closed. At Alexandria, through the friendly intervention of the Governor, the Christians were able to hide and save most of their treasures, and, owing to their apparent poverty, the inevitable fine was reduced. The Patriarch was arrested, and a sum of 6000 dinars, found in his house, was confiscated. A few years later, Egypt was visited by an earthquake, in which 25,000 persons perished. This was followed by a pestilence that swept away whole families, and decimated the towns and villages.

In 1069 A.D. a disturbance broke out, resulting in a fight between the Turkish troops of the Caliph and the negroes who formed his mother's guard. At length the former were victorious, and their leader endeavoured to usurp the power and authority of Mustanzir. The Patriarch was robbed and tortured, and the Christians cruelly oppressed. Shortly afterwards the rebel was defeated and slain; but the effect of this internal warfare was that Egypt suffered from a grievous famine, during which women were actually sold as food!

In 1074 A.D., the Caliph, in despair, wrote for help against his own subordinates to Bedr, the able General who had

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[1] Probably Damanhour.

made himself master of Syria. Bedr was an Armenian, who, while retaining his affection for Christianity, treated Christian and Moslem alike with strict justice and impartiality. On his arrival in Cairo, he caused all the Emirs to be assassinated, and succeeded, after some severe battles, in restoring order throughout the country. For eighteen years he was practically ruler of Egypt, and he rebuilt churches and mosques, and in every way increased the national prosperity.

On several occasions the Patriarch was arrested and imprisoned by Bedr's orders. The first charge brought against Christodoulos was that he had permitted Victor, the Metropolitan of Nubia, to destroy a mosque in that kingdom, but he was easily able to shew that the story was false, and he was thereupon set at liberty. The accusation against the Abyssinian Abuna—of having incited Moslems to drink wine when he entertained them—for which alleged act the unfortunate Patriarch was held responsible, is described in the chapter on the Abyssinian Church.[1]

In 1078 A.D. Christodoulos died, and was succeeded by a monk named George, who, on his election to the Patriarchate, took the name of CYRIL II. His episcopate commenced under happy auspices, both Mustanzir, the Caliph, and Bedr receiving him with great honour. His difficulties in regard to the claim of Severus to be made Metropolitan of Axum, in Ethiopia, are described elsewhere.[2]

In 1086 A.D. a serious dispute arose between Cyril and some of his Suffragans. Two Bishops[3] and several ecclesiastics having given offence to the leading inhabitants of Babylon, the Patriarch was urged to excommunicate them; but, instead of this, he retained all, with one exception, in his employment. The prelates accordingly complained to

[1] See chap. vii.
[2] See chap. vii.
[3] Of Abtu and Dikua—the former probably being Aboutig.

Bedr, imploring him to compel Cyril to carry out their wishes. The Vizir summoned a council of the Bishops to meet at Babylon, under his presidency, and upwards of fifty attended. Bedr commenced by severely rebuking the Bishops for their disloyalty towards the Patriarch. He then desired both sides to draw up a statement of their case, and submit it to him. When the Council re-assembled, three weeks later, he told them that he had not read the documents, but that their duty was to live in peace and charity with each other, to beware of avarice, and to practise what they preached. Cyril and the Bishops were overcome with shame and remorse at being thus lectured by a layman, and the following Sunday they celebrated the Holy Eucharist together in token of their reconciliation, and as a thanksgiving for the happy solution of the quarrel.

Cyril took up his residence in Cairo, and occupied himself with preparing a number of new Canons, which were objected to by the Bishops of Upper Egypt, but were, at a later date, received into the Canon Law of the Coptic Church.

The long reign of Bedr, as Vizir of Egypt, led to the immigration of large numbers of Armenians, who settled in the neighbourhood of Cairo. It was not long before they secured the consecration, at Alexandria, of an Armenian Patriarch, Gregory by name. Cyril utilised the occasion by issuing a manifesto stating that the Churches of Egypt, Abyssinia, Nubia, Syria, and Armenia were united in bearing testimony to the ancient Catholic Faith, and in condemning the errors of Nestorius, and of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon.

Once more, in 1089 A.D., Cyril was engaged in the ecclesiastical difficulties of Ethiopia, which are referred to on another page.[1] His last years were spent in restoring churches, in the relief of the poor, and in learning Arabic,

[1] See chap. vii.

which was rapidly superseding Coptic as the language spoken in Egypt. He died in 1092 A.D.

His successor was CHAIL IV. (Michael).[1] Before his consecration the Bishops insisted on his signing (α) a Confession of Faith; (β) a promise to pay the annual tribute to the clergy of Alexandria; (γ) an undertaking to abstain from receiving fees for ordinations and consecrations; and (δ) a pledge to forego the claim that Christodoulos had established over certain churches in Babylon and Cairo.

The last of these agreements was broken almost immediately by the Patriarch, who threatened to excommunicate Shenouda, Bishop of Babylon, if he persisted in his demand, whereupon he retired to a monastery.

Bedr died in 1094 A.D., within a few months of the Caliph Mustanzir. Bedr's successor was his second son, Afdal, who had only just entered into power when the First Crusade was undertaken. Ostensibly, the object of the Crusades was to deliver the Holy Land, and the Christian nations of the East, from the oppression of the Turks. But they soon degenerated into a latinising movement, and, so far as Egypt was concerned, their outcome was disastrous to the Church, and served only to tighten the chain of Moslem tyranny, and to widen the schism between East and West. After the capture of Jerusalem, in 1099 A.D., Afdal feared for the safety of Egypt, and sent an army against the Crusaders, defeating them at Askelon. The Crusaders retaliated by forbidding the members of the National Church of Egypt, and the Soudanese Christians, to enter Jerusalem—a disastrous step, as it alienated some of their staunchest allies.

Michael, whose visit to Abyssinia, in connection with the failure of the water supply of the Nile, is told elsewhere,[2] renewed, towards the close of his life, his quarrel with Shenouda, Bishop of Babylon. He secured the condemna-

[1] Called 'The Hermit.'
[2] See chap. vii.

tion of the latter by a Synod, on the ground that Shenouda had been excommunicated by Cyril for having celebrated the Holy Eucharist twice on the same day. A week later the Patriarch was attacked by the plague, and died.

He was succeeded, in 1102 A.D., by MACARIUS II., who refused to pledge himself to satisfy the rapacious demands of the Alexandrian clergy. Macarius seems to have governed his Church with honour and dignity, and, in spite of political difficulties, the Christians of Egypt in his time enjoyed prosperity and security. Baldwin had succeeded Godfrey in the kingdom of Jerusalem; and, having obtained from Pope Paschal II. a Bull, whereby all the new conquests from the Moslems were to be annexed to the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem—a monstrous act of schism on the part of the Bishop of Rome—Baldwin commenced, in 1117 A.D., his invasion of Egypt. This, however, was prevented by his sudden illness and death. Soon afterwards, Afdal was assassinated by order of the Caliph Amr, the grandson of Mustanzir, who was jealous of Afdal's power.

Macarius died in 1129 A.D., and the Patriarchate remained vacant for two years. At length a deacon of the Church of St. Sergius, in Babylon, of an old Coptic family, was chosen, who took the name of GABRIEL II. He was much respected for his learning and piety, and was well acquainted with both Arabic and Coptic.

The appointment, about this time, of a brother of Gregory, the Armenian Patriarch, as Vizir—the first Christian Governor of the country since the Mohammedan conquest—so infuriated the Moslems that they rose in revolt, headed by a man named Rodowan. The Vizir, unwilling to be the cause of bloodshed between Christian and Moslem, retired to a monastery, and Rodowan usurped his office. He allowed his soldiers to sack the houses of the Christians, re-enacted all the disabilities under which they had formerly suffered, and dismissed them from all Government offices. But he

was unable to keep his followers in order, and for a long time anarchy reigned supreme.

Gabriel faithfully set his face against the simoniacal acts of his predecessors, and, although he consecrated no fewer than fifty-three Bishops, he invariably refused the presents offered by them. He declined the request of the Emperor of Abyssinia to increase the number of Bishops for that country. His reason was that if the Metropolitan of Axum had eleven or more Suffragans, instead of seven, they would be able, according to the Canons, to consecrate their own Patriarch,[1] and would thus become independent of the Patriarch of Alexandria. Gabriel was doubtless in the right in his decision, but had he exercised the authority vested in him to grant the request, he would have enormously strengthened the Church in Ethiopia, and prepared the way for its reform and development.

Gabriel, who issued thirty Canons,[2] forbidding simony, attendance of ecclesiastics at games or dances, the celebration of marriages during Lent, and the residence in priests' houses of any women except their wives, mothers, sisters, aunts, or grandmothers, died in 1146 A.D.

His successor was CHAIL V. (Michael), a monk of St. Macarius, who was so ignorant that he could neither read Coptic nor Arabic. He was poisoned a few months after his elevation to the Patriarchate, suspicion pointing to one of the monks of his monastery, who resented the severity of his discipline.

He was succeeded, in 1147 A.D., by JOHN V., who had been one of the unsuccessful candidates at his election.

The Caliph Hafiz was succeeded by his son Dafer, a youth of eighteen years of age. Shortly afterwards, having attempted to violate the family honour of his Vizir, Abbas,

[1] According to the Canons of the Egyptian Church, twelve Bishops were necessary for the consecration of a Patriarch.

[2] They form part of the Canon Law of the Coptic Church.

he and his brothers were slain at a banquet to which Abbas had invited them. The people, however, rose against the Vizir, and he was captured, brought back to Cairo, and tortured to death in the harem of Dafer's sister. His successor, Thalai by name, seized the village of Matarieh, near Cairo—where there was a spring of water, traditionally believed to have miraculously appeared at the spot where the infant Jesus had rested with His mother during the flight into Egypt[1]—and turned the church, built close by, into a mosque. This sacrilegious act aroused the horror and indignation of the Christians.

About the year 1160 A.D., a serious controversy arose in the Egyptian Church. From the earliest times voluntary private confession to a priest had been enjoined, though it was only required, as a religious obligation, for the first time in the fourth century. About the same period the use of incense began to be practised, for sanitary reasons. But in the sixth century, in consequence of the custom of fumigating the church with incense at the commencement of the liturgy, while the people were engaged in private confession, the belief gradually gained ground that forgiveness of sins was in some way connected with the ritual of censing, to which a symbolical significance was accordingly attached. By the twelfth century, it had become usual to substitute for auricular confession the private acknowledgment of sin in the solitude of the chamber before a lighted censer, which practically dispensed with the services of the priest. This innovation appears to have been authorised by the Patriarch John, and was vehemently attacked by a priest named Mark ebn Kundar, who insisted on the necessity of priestly absolution. He was excommunicated by John, but his popularity and influence increased with great rapidity.

At this juncture (1164 A.D.) the Patriarch died, and was

[1] The place is well known by visitors to Egypt as the Virgin's Tree. It is close to Heliopolis.

succeeded by MARK III.,[1] who was soon drawn into the controversy. He summoned Mark "the Reformer" to Cairo, and remonstrated with him on his conduct. A promise of amendment was soon broken, and, at a Synod summoned by the Patriarch,[2] he was excommunicated and deposed. He accordingly appealed to the Moslems, but the Bishops declined to allow any external interference. The matter was then referred to Michael, the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, who pointed out that the one side depreciated, and the other exaggerated, the importance of confession. In disgust, Mark went over to the Melchite Church, and the rest of his life was spent in oscillating between the two communions.

It would be tedious to relate the various contests for the office of Vizir, which ended in the extinction of the Fatimite dynasty of Caliphs. It was in 1169 A.D. that Saladin succeeded his uncle Chiracou as Vizir and virtual ruler of the kingdom. Under his sway, although certain disabilities were attached to the Christians, they enjoyed peace and prosperity. Saladin, having repulsed the attack on Alexandria by the Crusaders under William II., King of Sicily, rapidly added to his possessions Syria and Asia Minor. His attention was diverted for a time to the defence of Egypt against the Nubians, but in 1187 A.D. he crowned his victories by the capture of Jerusalem.

Two years later the Patriarch Mark died, and was succeeded, in 1189 A.D., by JOHN VI., who belonged to the secular priesthood. He was a man of remarkable piety, learning, and eloquence, and he ruled the Church well and wisely.

As soon as the news of the fall of Jerusalem reached Europe, a fresh Crusade was at once set on foot, which was led by Frederic Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany. It

[1] Called ebn Zaara.
[2] Attended by sixty bishops.

started in 1189 A.D., but the following year Barbarossa was drowned, and Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip Augustus of France took command. Acre was besieged and captured, but Jerusalem remained in the hands of the infidels till 1229 A.D. Soon afterwards, Saladin took up his residence in Damascus, and died in 1192 A.D. He was a man of boundless ambition, and unscrupulous and relentless in seeking its fruits; but he was temperate in his pleasures, liberal of his wealth, and observant of the rites of his religion. His treatment of the Christians, except during the early years of his reign, was just and fair.

CHAPTER V.

The Coptic Church from the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries.

Saladin left behind him at least fifteen sons. The second son, Aziz, was nominated Sultan of Egypt. After reigning four or five years, he was killed by a fall from his horse, and was succeeded by his son, a boy of seven, who was shortly afterwards deposed by Adel, the uncle of Aziz. Adel proclaimed himself Sultan in 1199 A.D.

The episcopate of John is chiefly memorable for the difficulties with which he had to contend in regard to the affairs of the Abyssinian Church.[1] During his latter years, the Government of Egypt was in the hands of Kamil, Adel's son, who was favourably disposed towards the Christians. John died in 1216 A.D., respected and beloved. It was said of him by a Moslem writer: "He put an end to the poll-tax,[2] and forbad all fees for ordinations. He was never burdensome to a single Christian, and never took a bribe."

For nearly twenty wears after the death of John, the Patriarchate of Alexandria was vacant. Among the candidates for the vacancy was David, a native of the Fayoum, who had endeavoured to secure the appointment as Metropolitan of Abyssinia, but had been rejected by John as unworthy. He was a great friend of one of the State Secretaries, and used every endeavour, through his patron, to bribe, threaten, and cajole the Bishops into a promise to consecrate him. Again and again the Sultan's confirmation of David's appointment was affixed to the deed, but revoked in response to the strenuous opposition of those who

[1] See chap. vii.

[2] A tax levied by former Patriarchs on all Christians, to meet the demands of Moslem rulers and the Alexandrian clergy.

resented his candidature. Adel died about 1219 A.D., and was succeeded by Kamil, who shewed kindness to the Church, and especially to the monastic institutions, in every possible way. But by degrees, the persistent intrigues of David, and the abuse of Kamil's clemency towards the monks (hundreds of people assuming the habit in order to escape the Government tax), led him to adopt a different policy towards the Christians. At length, the pertinacity of David prevailed, and in 1235 A.D. he secured his consecration as Patriarch, under the name of CYRIL III.

In the meantime a new Crusade had begun, in 1213 A.D., and in 1218 A.D. an attempt was made, by the siege of Damietta, to conquer Egypt. The camp of Kamil was visited by St. Francis of Assisi, who had joined the Crusaders. His offer to the Sultan to enter a furnace on condition that, if he escaped unharmed, the Egyptians should embrace Christianity,[1] was not accepted. The following year Damietta was taken; a Latin Metropolitan See was established in the city, with a mosque transformed into a Cathedral, the rites of the National Church (which unfortunately was at that time without a Patriarch), as well as of the Greek (Melchite) Church, being ignored. A protest was sent to Pope Innocent by Nicholas, the Greek Patriarch, but it produced no effect. This act of schism on the part of the Latins has been fraught with serious consequences to Egyptian Christianity.

A year later the Crusaders were forced to come to terms with the Moslems. They agreed to give up Damietta, on condition that they were allowed to retire in safety.

Cyril had no sooner secured himself in the office of Patriarch, to attain to which he had intrigued for twenty years, than he began to show himself in his real colours. It is true that, in his earlier ordinations of priests and deacons,

1 St. Francis seems to have been ignorant of the existence of the Egyptian Church.

he abstained from demanding fees; but no sooner did he commence to fill up the vacant bishoprics, than he extorted enormous bribes, excusing himself on the ground that he had to raise the sum payable to the Moslem Government on his accession. The Bishops remonstrated, and Cyril swore that for the future he would abstain from simony. But, hardly had he taken this oath, when he proceeded to transfer the jurisdiction over all the monasteries of Egypt from their respective diocesans to himself, which increased both his powers and his revenues at the expense of his suffragans.

His next act was to infringe the rights of the Patriarch of Antioch by consecrating a Metropolitan of Jerusalem, to be under himself, and to supersede the Bishop of the Holy City, who was subject to the Patriarch of Antioch. This flagrant violation of the Canon Law, and of ecclesiastical discipline, led to grave dissensions and trouble in the Church.

Cyril's proceedings at length attracted the attention of Kamil, who arrested him on the complaint of some one from whom he had extorted money, and fined him 1500 gold pieces. Kamil died in 1237 A.D., and his son and successor, Adel, befriended the Patriarch.

At length the Bishops induced Cyril to call a Council at Babylon, in 1239 A.D., at which fourteen were present. They presented the Patriarch with a series of "articles," to which they demanded his adherence and signature, under threat of breaking off communion with him. The document commenced with a profession of Faith, which touched on the Incarnation in the following terms: "That Christ, God made man, is One Nature, One Person, One Will; that He is at the same time God the Word, and Man born of the Virgin Mary; and that thus all the attributes and proprieties, as well of the Divine as the human Nature, may be verily predicated of Him."[1]

[1] Neale, Holy Eastern Ch., vol. ii. p. 302.

The principal of these "Articles" for the reformation of the Church were: that no one was to be ordained Bishop unless he were a learned man, and chosen by the majority of the votes[1] of prelates, clergy, monks, and laymen; that no money was to be received for consecrations of Bishops or ordinations of priests, and no ecclesiastical judges were to receive presents of any kind, under pain of excommunication; that the Patriarch, aided by a Council of the most experienced prelates, was to draw up a series of Canons, dealing with the Sacraments, and regulating matrimonial and testamentary causes; that a General Synod was to be held annually in the third week after Pentecost; that the customs of the Coptic Church were not to be changed; that circumcision, except in cases of necessity, should precede baptism; that slaves, and the sons of uncrowned[2] mothers, were to be ineligible for ecclesiastical promotion (save as regards the ordination to the priesthood of deserving candidates in Nubia and Abyssinia); that no prelate was to hold an ordination outside his own diocese; that the Patriarchal churches were to return to the obedience of their diocesan Bishops; and that a Bishop was not to be compelled to ordain an unwilling candidate.[3]

Cyril, after attempting to evade the obligation, signed the document, which was circulated throughout the dioceses. But, within a very short time, he broke all his oaths, resumed his intrigues to secure more money and greater power, and continued his perpetration of gross cruelties towards those who differed from him.

The rest of his life was passed in a continual struggle with his suffragans. He was several times accused to the Emir of Cairo, fined, and released. During his episcopate, the

[1] *ψηφίσματα.*

[2] The Eastern Church prohibits a fourth marriage as illegal. Second and third marriages are considered blameable, and the bride and bridegroom are not crowned, as in the case of a first marriage. Hence the distinction between a crowned and an uncrowned mother.

[3] See Wansleb, p. 294.

Bishop of Sandafa apostatized and turned Moslem—a disgrace to the Church of Egypt, from which it had never suffered during the most bitter persecutions.

Cyril died in 1243 A.D., and he will always be remembered as the greatest enemy of his Church. In spite of weaknesses, and, in some cases, lack of education, the Patriarchs of Alexandria had endeavoured to uphold the honour and dignity of their position, and had inspired the affection and reverence of their people. But it was left for Cyril to be the first to degrade the office, and to make it a by-word among them for dishonesty and falsehood. A strong and high-minded Patriarch might, under the favourable rule of Kamil, have enormously benefited the Church in Egypt, and have altered the whole course of her subsequent history; but Cyril, unhappily, did more than any other prelate, before or since, to alienate from her the sympathy both of Christians and Moslems.

It was nearly eight years before a successor to Cyril was elected, but ATHANASIUS III., who became Patriarch in 1250 A.D., did his utmost to repair the evil done by his predecessor. The Greek Patriarch, Gregory, died in the same year as Cyril, and was succeeded by Nicholas, the second of that name.

Meanwhile, in 1245 A.D., a new Crusade was proclaimed in Europe, headed by King Louis of France, and in 1249 A.D. the Crusaders attacked and captured Damietta. Kamil's son, Adel, had succeeded his father as Sultan of Egypt, but was soon afterwards deposed by his brother, Melek-el-Saleh. Melek died in 1249 A.D., but the fact of his death was concealed by Shajah-el-dur, a favourite Armenian slave, and mother of his son and successor, Tourah, who was at the time absent in Syria. Shajah successfully retained the government in her own hands until Tourah's return to Egypt, when the Crusaders were defeated with great loss. King Louis was taken prisoner, but was released on payment

of 400,000 louis d'or, and the exchange of all prisoners on both sides. On his way to take possession of Damietta, the Sultan was murdered by his Emirs, and with him ended the royal race of Saladin.

The Emirs, thinking it beneath their dignity to be governed by a woman, compelled Shajar to marry Eibeg, the chief of the Emirs, who thus founded the Mameluke[1] dynasty. The rise of the Mamelukes came about as follows. It had been the practice of the Mohammedan rulers to form armies of slaves; but Saladin, finding he could not obtain sufficient recruits among the black races without conquering the Soudan (and this appeared too venturesome a project), employed slave merchants to procure, from Southern and Eastern Europe, a supply of boys, who were brought up as Moslem soldiers, and divided into regiments. So greatly did their numbers increase under Melek-el-Saleh, that new barracks were built for them on the island of Rhoda, and from the fact that they resided on the river they were called Baharites.[2] Eibeg had been a Turkish slave, and had risen to the command of the Baharite Mamelukes. He was soon engaged in a contest with the Emir Phares Oktai, whom he put to death. He then separated from his wife Shajar, and proposed to marry the daughter of the Sultan of Mosul. This so enraged Shajar that she caused him to be strangled in his bath. Eibeg's son (by another wife), named Almansor, was chosen as his successor, and his first act was to deliver Shajar to the vengeance of his own mother. The unhappy woman was beaten to death in the harem with wooden clogs, and her body thrown to the dogs. Almansor and his successor were murdered in rapid succession, and then Bibars, another Mameluke Emir, ascended the throne (A.D. 1260). He fed the people from his own granaries during the terrible famine which prevailed two years later;

[1] Arabic word for slave.

[2] From Arabic *bahr*, a river.

but, needing money for his numerous wars, he inflicted heavy taxes on the Christians.

Athanasius, the Patriarch, died in 1262 A.D. There being two candidates for the dignity, recourse was had to the Heikeliet,[1] and GABRIEL III. was chosen. But John, the unsuccessful aspirant to the Patriarchate, bribed the Moslem authorities to insist on his appointment, and he was accordingly consecrated, the Bishops being afraid to offer resistance. When Bibars was absent in Syria, in 1269 A.D., the prelates deposed John, and consecrated Gabriel, who held office for two years. At the end of that time, Bibars returned to Egypt, and John appealed to him—accompanying his appeal with the inevitable argument of money—to be reinstated, which was accordingly done. Gabriel died a few months later, and John resumed the Patriarchate as JOHN VII.

The intervention of John in the affairs of the Abyssinian Church is related below.[2] During his tenure of office, the kingdom of Nubia, through the ill-advised aggression of its King, David by name, was degraded to a position of vassalage to Egypt; and the unhappy Christians, both of Nubia and Dongola, and of all the kingdoms of the Soudan, were compelled to choose between the faith of Islam, tribute, or death. They usually selected the second alternative, and were thus reduced to poverty and impotence.

The Sultan Bibars died in 1277 A.D., having taken accidentally the poison he intended for another. His two sons, who succeeded him, were both, in turn, murdered, and Kalaoun, another Mameluke Emir, became ruler of Egypt. The vexatious restrictions he imposed on his subjects, especially on the Christians, excited much discontent, whereupon he turned his Mameluke army loose in Cairo, and for three days the city was given up to massacre and pillage.

[1] See p. 64. [2] See chap. vii.

For several years he was occupied in fruitless expeditions against the Soudan, but, although he was always victorious, he was unable to retain a garrison in the country, and at last he left the Soudanese in peace.

Saladin Khalil succeeded Kalaoun in 1291 A.D., and immediately made war on the Franks, as the Crusaders were called, and captured Acre, bringing away with him the portal of one of the principal churches, which, to this day, forms the entrance to the Mosque Ebn Kalaoun in Cairo. He next invaded Armenia, and, on his return to Egypt, instituted a fresh persecution of the Christians, which arose in the following way. A dispute took place in one of the streets of Cairo between a Christian secretary[1] to one of the principal Emirs, and a Moslem agent who owed the Emir some money. The secretary, whose name was Ain-el-Ghazal, tied the agent's hands behind him, and made him walk, thus bound, in front of him. A crowd soon collected, pulled the secretary from his ass that he was riding, and rescued the agent. Ain-el-Ghazal at once sent a request to his master's castle for aid, whereupon the bodyguard came down and dispersed the mob. An appeal to the Sultan led to an enquiry, which revealed the manner in which the Christian officials were behaving. The Emir, Bedr, was accordingly instructed to assemble the secretaries, and deliver to them the Sultan's ultimatum:—"He of you who prefers his religion is to be put to death, but he who prefers El-Islam shall receive a robe of honour, and it shall be well with him."[2] They chose the latter; but, stung by the contempt of the other Christians, they revenged themselves on the Mohammedans, so that it was said of them by a friend of the Emir: "These infidels have adopted El-Islam through

[1] During the Sultanate of Saladin Khalil, the Emirs largely employed the Christians as their secretaries, owing to the fact that they were better educated than the Mohammedans. But they soon began to shew themselves overbearing towards the Moslems, and assumed a superiority of dress and demeanour.

[2] Makrizi (Malan's translation), p. 101.

the sword and by force; but no sooner have they become free than they have denied the faith. They have embraced El-Islam for mere love of gain and of rest. It is true that they are free, but they are not Mussulmans."

Khalil was shortly afterwards murdered in his harem, and Nasr, a younger son of Kalaoun, who was only nine years old, was elected Sultan. Several Emirs who endeavoured to usurp authority were put to death in rapid succession. The Greek Patriarch of Alexandria, Athanasius by name, who was consecrated about 1270 A.D., spent most of his episcopate at Constantinople, occupying himself with the affairs of that Church. The Egyptian Patriarch, John, died in 1294 A.D., and was succeeded by Theodosius.

THEODOSIUS II. was, according to Renaudot,[1] a "Frank," which probably means that he was a descendant of one of the French captives taken at the time of the Crusade under St. Louis. During his six years' episcopate, the Christians were comparatively free from persecution, but this respite soon came to an end, and during the whole of the fourteenth century they suffered grievously at the hands of the Moslems.

JOHN VIII. succeeded Theodosius as Patriarch in 1300 A.D. Soon after his accession, a change commenced in the treatment of the Church. The Vizir, El Maghrib, on his return from Mecca, came to Cairo to pay his respects to the Sultan, Nasr. In the street he met a Christian official, mounted on a magnificent charger, and wearing a white turban and a gorgeous cloak, followed by a crowd of petitioners praying for his patronage, whose requests were answered either by blows or contemptuous silence. The Vizir, in great indignation, came to the palace, and complained of the degraded condition to which the Moslems had sunk. The result was that the laws passed by Omar, on the first conquest of Egypt,

[1] Renaud., p. 602.

were re-enacted. The Patriarch was summoned, together with the leading ecclesiastics, and the head of the Jewish community, and they were commanded to enforce on their people obedience to the following rules:—Christians were to wear turbans of blue, and a girdle, and were forbidden to ride on horses or mules; Jews were to wear yellow turbans; and no Government appointment could be held by either, unless a profession of Mohammedanism were first made by the nominee. John wrote to the various dioceses, enjoining strict adherence to these laws, under pain of excommunication. The Moslems followed up the edict by destroying and closing the churches, and by stoning and beating the Christians in the public thoroughfares. This state of things continued for three years, until, at the request (accompanied by large bribes to the Sultan and the principal Emirs) of James, King of Aragon, the churches were reopened, and matters generally improved.

Unfortunately, however, the smouldering fire of hatred between Christians and Mohammedans was always ready to burst into a flame. In 1320 A.D., on a given Friday, when "the faithful" were assembled for the noontide prayer, a fakir, who appears in each case to have been a stranger, raised himself from among the crowd, this happening simultaneously in several mosques, and cried: "Allah is great! My brethren, let us go forth and destroy the churches!" The mob needed no second invitation. In Cairo eleven churches were destroyed; four in Alexandria; nine in Fostat; eight in the province of Assiout; and nearly thirty others along the banks of the Nile, besides numberless convents. Those in the old fortress of Babylon were saved, owing to the foresight of the Christians in closing the gates until the rabble was dispersed by the soldiers. About a month later, fires broke out in various parts of Cairo, which were the work of some monks of the Monastery of the Mule, carried out for the purpose of retaliation. The

utmost severity and torture failed to arrest the disturbances, until at last the Sultan, menaced by an insurrection, and in danger of his life at the hands of the infuriated Moslems—who accused him of favouring the Christians—publicly announced that the former were free to kill and plunder the latter. Immediately a scene of carnage and pillage ensued, which baffles description. The Christians were decimated, and reduced to abject poverty.

It was during these terrible scenes that the Patriarch, John VIII., died (1321 A.D.), and was succeeded by JOHN IX. We know practically nothing of his history, but during his episcopate the condition of the Christians was slightly improved, owing to the intervention of the Emperor of Byzantium and the King of Spain, who both sent embassies to the Court of Cairo on behalf of their unhappy co-religionists in Egypt.

In 1325 A.D., the Emperor of Abyssinia wrote to Nasr, commanding him to rebuild the churches which had been destroyed by the Moslems, and threatening, if this were not done, to pull down the mosques throughout his kingdom, and alter the course of the Nile. Nothing, however, seems to have resulted from this communication.

Two years later John died, and was succeeded by BENJAMIN II. (in 1327 A.D.), whose episcopate extended over thirteen years, during which time the position of the Christians was to some extent ameliorated, the attention of the Moslems being engaged by the public works carried out by Nasr.

Benjamin died in 1340 A.D. (one year before the Sultan), and was succeeded by PETER V. The eight years of his Patriarchal reign are chiefly memorable for the quarrels among the Mamelukes for the Sultanate. Most of Nasr's sons were murdered, but the seventh son, Hassan, at length secured the reins of government.

Mark IV. succeeded Peter as Patriarch in 1348 A.D.; and in the same year Egypt was visited by the black plague, which carried off as many as 15,000 persons in one day. Five years later another plague overran the country, and this was followed by a fresh persecution. Again, as fifty years before, the Patriarch was summoned to appear before the Sultan and the Emirs, and to enforce the penal laws of Omar, with added restrictions. No Christian might be employed under Government, even if he professed Mohammedanism; no churches or monasteries were to be built or repaired; no Christian might appear abroad, except with the prescribed token of iron round the neck, or might employ a Moslem as a servant; no Christian might ride on horseback, or follow the medical profession; and, if a Christian met a Mohammedan, he must move out of his path.

These laws, instead of restoring peace, only excited the mob to further violence. The Copts were beaten, insulted, robbed, and murdered, and their churches again destroyed. So great was their terror that apostasies became innumerable, no less than 450 in one village professing Islam in one day; and it almost seemed as if the very name of Christianity would disappear from Egypt.

The Sultan Hassan, who erected the magnificent mosque in Cairo, just below the Citadel, that bears his name, was murdered in 1361 A.D. Two years later the Patriarch died.

He was succeeded in 1363 A.D. by John X., a native of Damascus. The Regent,[1] who had been one of Hassan's slaves, was favourably disposed towards the Christians, and they enjoyed immunity from oppression for several years. In 1364 A.D., however, the sufferings of the people were rendered more acute by a famine which devastated Egypt, lasting three years. In 1365 A.D. the Crusaders again in-

[1] The Sultan, who was a descendant of Kalaoun, was a boy of ten years of age.

vaded the country, capturing Alexandria, and carrying off a large number of women. They were, however, unable to retain the advantage they had gained, and they sailed for Cyprus, resigning the prize they had secured.

The Patriarch John died in 1371 A.D., and was succeeded by GABRIEL IV., who had formerly been Archimandrite of the Monastery of Moharrak. Two years later, during the discontent resulting from a low Nile, the Regent was cut to pieces by his own bodyguard. Another Mameluke Emir was appointed Regent, and having married the young Sultan's mother for her fortune, murdered her, and attempted her son's life. He escaped, but shortly afterwards he succumbed to the violence of his enemy. His son, who was an only child, named Ali, was placed on the throne, and several Regents were chosen and almost immediately deposed until the power was usurped by Barkuk, who founded the dynasty of Circassian Mamelukes.

Barkuk was the son of a Circassian slave. He was attached to the household of the Regent El Bogha, who was murdered, and for a time he served the Governor of Damascus. He was then recalled by the Sultan, and placed in command of a Mameluke regiment. At his master's death, he became Regent to the youthful Ali, who died in 1380 A.D., and two years later Barkuk attained his ambition by being unanimously elected to the Sultanate. He was, however, deposed in 1389 A.D., and the child Haji, whose position he had usurped, was again placed on the throne. Eight months afterwards, Barkuk was restored to his position.

The Patriarch Gabriel died in 1375 A.D., and his successor was MATTHEW, under whom there took place a revival of religious and patriotic feeling among the Egyptian Christians, and many who had apostatized during the former persecution recanted, and returned to the true faith. But

the peace enjoyed by the Church was not destined to be of long duration.

In 1389 A.D. a procession of men and women entered Cairo, crying aloud that they renounced the Moslem faith, which they had formerly adopted under threats of torture. The publicity of their recantation was designed to secure their martyrdom, in expiation of the sin of apostasy of which they had been guilty. They were seized by the Mohammedans, and beheaded. The brutality of this slaughter of women caused a revulsion of feeling, but not before the Patriarch had been thrown into prison, from which he was only released at the cost of an enormous ransom.

Under Barkuk the Christians enjoyed almost entire immunity from oppression. He devoted himself to the civil government of the country, lessened the taxes, and built a college for the encouragement of learning. It was during his reign that Makrizi,[1] the Mohammedan historian, to whom we are indebted for so much of our knowledge of the Coptic Church, carried out most of his work.

More than one attempt was made by the Emirs at this period to renew the attacks on the Christians, but Barkuk sternly forbade anything of the kind. He ruled the country with wisdom and justice, and added considerably to the architectural beauty of Cairo by erecting the mosque that bears his name, which was intended as a tomb for his daughter, and also the family mausoleum among the Tombs of the Caliphs. He died in 1399 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Farag.

Farag, who successfully put down a rebellion in Syria just after his accession, was soon called upon to meet a more formidable foe in the person of Timur. Timur, or Tamerlane (as he is often called), was the son of a Mongol chief, and was born in 1336 A.D. When only thirty years of age he had overcome all his rivals and enemies, and secured

[1] He was born in 1364 A.D., and died in 1441 A.D.

for himself the throne of Samarcand. He then turned his attention to foreign conquests, and subdued Persia, Georgia, and the other Caucasian States, and, a few years later, the Tartar Empire and the greater part of India. His chief rival for the supreme power was Bajazet,[1] Ottoman Sultan of the Turks, who conquered Servia, Bulgaria, and the main portion of Asia Minor. He defeated the Crusade under Sigismund, King of Hungary, and would have captured Constantinople, and entirely destroyed the Greek Empire, had he not been attacked by Tamerlane, who utterly defeated him, in 1402 A.D., on the plains of Angora, in Asia Minor. Both conquerors had cast envious eyes on Egypt, and had sent embassies to Barkuk, who contemptuously ignored the threats of Timur, and entered into a treaty with Bajazet. Timur, after his victory over Bajazet, sent messengers to Farag, demanding that he should acknowledge himself the vassal of the conqueror, and for the sake of peace he signed the decree. The Mameluke Emirs were so indignant that they deposed Farag, but a few months later he resumed the power. He never, however, recovered the prestige he had lost by compliance with the claims of Tamerlane, and he was arrested, in 1412 A.D., by order of the Caliph Mustain, and executed.

Three years previously the Patriarch Matthew died, and was succeeded by GABRIEL V., in 1409 A.D., a native of Ghizeh, who had been a Government clerk. He ruled the Church with wisdom and dignity during a period of great trial and suffering, and he added to the ecclesiastical literature of Egypt by writing an important treatise on the Coptic ritual, which contained the Order for the Administration of Holy Baptism, for the Absolution of Penitents, for Matrimony, for Holy Orders, for the Visitation of the Sick, and other offices.

[1] He was surnamed Ilderim, or lightning, from the extraordinary rapidity of his military movements and conquests.

The Caliph Mustain endeavoured to restrain the vices of his Mohammedan subjects, which rendered him unpopular (in spite of his oppression of the Christians), and he was deposed by the Emir who had placed him on the throne. This was the Sheikh El Mahmoudi, who set in motion the oppressive laws against the Church, and in 1418 A.D. arrested the Patriarch, and threatened to put him to death, because the Moslems in Abyssinia were subject to disabilities. Gabriel was, however, released soon afterwards, and was left undisturbed in possession of his See, until his death in 1427 A.D.

His successor was JOHN XI., a priest in charge of a school in Upper Egypt, who held the See for over a quarter of a century. We learn from Makrizi that, soon after his consecration, a secret treaty was entered into between the Emperor of Abyssinia and the Franks[1] for an alliance, with a view to the extermination of the Mohammedan religion and empire. The agent through whom the negotiations passed was betrayed to the Sultan of Egypt and beheaded, and the attempt appears to have collapsed.

In 1439 A.D. the Council of Florence was held, at which the Egyptian Church was represented by John, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Anthony. The Council of Basle, the object of which was to effect a union between the Eastern and Western Churches, assembled in 1431 A.D., and sat for twelve years. Eugenius, Pope of Rome, did everything possible to discredit the Council, which, in 1437 A.D., pronounced him contumacious, suspended him, and finally excommunicated him. Meantime, Eugenius called a Council at Ferrara, which returned the compliment, and excommunicated the Council of Basle. Both assemblies invited the Emperor of the East, John VI., to attend, and sent vessels to Constantinople to convey him to the place of

[1] Which of the Crusades this refers to is not very clear.

meeting. The papal escort arrived first, and took on board the Emperor, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and many Bishops, who were brought to Ferrara. Shortly afterwards, the Council adjourned to Florence. The Greek Bishops were intimidated into subscribing the decrees of the Council, which agreed to the addition of the Filioque clause in the Nicene Creed, acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope of Rome, and affirmed the treaty of Union.

In the meantime the Council of Basle (which had been summoned by a Pope, and attended by Roman Cardinals) deposed Eugenius, and elected a rival Bishop of Rome. This schism in the Latin Church is one of the many instances furnished by the history of the Papacy which negative the modern doctrine of Papal Infallibility.

The Greek Church repudiated the Act of Union, as the above-mentioned concordat was called, and the Emperor and all who had signed it were greeted on their return to Constantinople as traitors. Within a few years all traces of the Union had disappeared, and the only result of the attempt to heal the schism between the East and West was to intensify the mutual hatred of the Greeks and Latins towards each other.

The Patriarch John died in 1453 A.D., and was succeeded by MATTHEW II., who held the See for nearly fourteen years. In the year of his accession Constantinople was captured by the Turks, and the Cathedral of St. Sophia, as well as most of the Christian churches, converted into a mosque. Thus perished the Greek Empire of Byzantium, and "New Rome" became from that day the capital of the Turkish Empire.

Matthew died in 1466 A.D., and the following year GABRIEL VI. became Patriarch. During his episcopate the Sultan of Egypt, Kait Bey, was continuously occupied in fighting against the growing Ottoman power, and thus post-

poning the day when the Turks would put an end to the Mameluke rule.

Gabriel died in 1475 A.D., and was succeeded by CHAIL VI. (Michael). Michael held the See for six years, and his successor, who was consecrated in 1481 A.D., was JOHN XII., who was Patriarch for forty years. Shortly after his elevation to the episcopate, the monks of the monasteries of St. Anthony and St. Paul, in the Arabian desert, were all massacred, and the monasteries abandoned for nearly a century. No reason is given for this outrage, as the Christians were, for the most part, free from persecution during the reign of Kait Bey.

In 1517 A.D. the Patriarch witnessed the defeat of the Egyptian forces by the Ottoman Sultan Selim. Cairo was stormed and pillaged by the Turkish troops, and the Mameluke garrison slain. Thus the unhappy Christians of Egypt passed from the tyranny of the Mamelukes, who had at least some interest in their own country and its prosperity, to the tyranny of strange rulers, whose great aim was to enrich themselves at the expense of the native population, before they were recalled to Constantinople and replaced by others.

John died in 1521 A.D., and was succeeded by another Patriarch of the same name, JOHN XIII., of whom we know but little. His successor, in 1526 A.D., was GABRIEL VII., who held the See for forty-three years.

During this period all communication between the Egyptian and Abyssinian Churches was cut off. The Portuguese interference in the affairs of the Southern Kingdom had already commenced, and Bermudez had been recognised as Abuna by the Pope of Rome.[1]

The effect of the Turkish rule was to further impoverish the Egyptians, and the Christians, as usual, bore the brunt

[1] See chap. vii.

of the burden. Not only was a heavy tribute exacted for the Ottoman Sultan, but the country was divided into districts, which were farmed out to tax-collectors,[1] whose one object was to enrich themselves during their precarious tenure of office. For upwards of three hundred years the Egyptian nation groaned under this oppression, which, with most of the other abuses that had well-nigh ruined the people, has disappeared under British administration.

Gabriel died in 1569 A.D., and in the following year, a new Patriarch, JOHN XIV., was elected. Throughout his episcopate, and that of his successor, the Popes of Rome made vigorous attempts to secure the submission of the Coptic Church to the authority of the Papacy. In 1583 A.D., John was prevailed upon to summon a Council of Bishops at Babylon, to confer with the Papal legates. The Patriarch felt that, if such an alliance as was proposed could be accepted, he would have secured a powerful protector for his flock against the cruelties of the Turks. In spite of strong opposition, he persuaded the Council to agree to the articles that had been drawn up, but his premature death put an end to the negotiations. The Papal legates were arrested by the Moslems, and thrown into prison; but the richer Copts raised the necessary ransom, and they were released, the money being honourably repaid by the Pope.

In 1585 A.D. GABRIEL VIII. became Patriarch. During his episcopate the condition of the country was little better than a state of anarchy, and the Christians were persecuted and massacred. He died, probably of the plague, in 1602 A.D.

In the same year (1602 A.D.) that saw his successor, MARK V., elected to the Patriarchate, the famous Cyril Lucar became the head of the Greek Church in Egypt. His

[1] The "publicans," so often referred to in the New Testament.

position was far stronger than that of Mark, as the policy of the Ottoman Sultans, since the Turkish conquest of Egypt, had been favourable to the Greeks, and antagonistic to the Copts. This probably accounts for the arrogance which Cyril displayed towards both the Patriarchs of the National Church who were contemporary with him, and for his contemptuous refusal of the overtures of friendship which they made.

Cyril had, before his elevation to the episcopate, assimilated a strain of Calvinism, and he appears to have steadily increased in his affection for Protestant doctrines, and in his hatred of Rome. His astounding ignorance of everything connected with the Egyptian Church is only equalled by his bitterness towards the Copts generally. The following extracts from a letter,[1] written by him to a Presbyterian minister at The Hague, will illustrate his attitude:—

"It was your wish to obtain information concerning the heretics in the East, and I therefore will not neglect to notice anything which may be to the purpose. There are still four sects of them with whom our Church does not communicate—the Armenian, the Coptic, the Maronite, and the Jacobite—whose mode of worship is unsightly, and their ceremonies worse than brutish. In matters of faith they are heretics; in habits, and other circumstances of an ecclesiastical nature, you would say that they differed nothing from beasts. They are so sunk in darkness as scarcely to know whether they believe, or what they believe, but each of them is obstinately attached to his own superstitions and errors. . . . .

"Another sect is the Copts, who follow the doctrine of Dioscorus and Eutyches, a filthy and barbarous race. They are called Copts, because they used to circumcise themselves; but this they do no longer. . . . . I have abundant acquaintance with these pests in the city of Grand Cairo. . . . . My predecessors in the Patriarchate, and especially Meletius, my last predecessor, a most learned and exemplary person, have made many

[1] Neale's Holy Eastern Church, vol. ii. p. 376.

efforts to bring them back to the way of truth, but without success.

"Pope Clement VIII. of Rome both did and bore many things to come to an arrangement with them; and you would laugh, sir, if you knew what arts the Copts used in that business, and how much the Pope was imposed upon. . . . .

"They have a Superior, who is called in their own language Jabuna, which means My Lord. He came several times to visit me in Egypt; but every time he came, he came in silence and went away in silence. One of his people spoke for him . . . . but he never opened his mouth, because, as he says, it is not allowed. . . . For my part, I am a talkative and chatty person, who think I ought to speak with my own mouth, and not with that of others. But the thing which more displeases me in that good Lord is, that he never shewed me any part of his face except the eyes. His whole head, whether he raises or inclines it, is covered with a cloth. . . . . I am unwilling to trouble a person of your sagacity any further about such absurdities. . . . .

"The Jacobite race is the most filthy and most degraded; nor have I anything to write respecting it, except that we have a good right to know it for its Nestorian heresy.

"These are the pest of the East, which God keeps in check by the general scourge of the unbelievers, so that they may do us no injury."

It is almost inconceivable that Cyril, living in Cairo, should describe the Copts and Jacobites as two different sects, and should confuse the latter with the Nestorians. But there seems to be no reason to doubt the genuineness of the letter, which is still preserved at Geneva.

The negotiations with the Roman Church were carried on by Mark, but with as little success, from the Latin point of view, as with his predecessors. In 1618 A.D. the Bishop of Damietta preached a sermon advocating polygamy, for which, after the Patriarch had remonstrated with him to

no avail, he was excommunicated. The Bishop appealed to a Copt who was employed by the Governor, and Mark was beaten so severely that he died shortly afterwards.

In 1619 A.D. JOHN XV., surnamed Melawani, was elected Patriarch. Two years later, Cyril Lucar was translated to the See of Constantinople, where he at once entered upon a vigorous struggle with the Jesuits, during which they succeeded in procuring his banishment to the island of Rhodes. By the influence of the English Ambassador, Sir Thomas Rowe, Cyril was recalled; but in the end the Jesuits secured, not only his banishment, but his death-warrant, signed by the Sultan. He was strangled on board a vessel which was to take him into exile,[1] and died in 1638 A.D.

The story of Cyril Lucar has a special attraction for members of the Anglican Church. He interested King James I. in the oppressed condition of the Greek Church, and, at the invitation of the King, he sent over a young Greek, Critopulos Metrophanes,[2] to be educated in England, commending him to the care of Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom, as well as with Laud, he kept up a correspondence for many years. We owe to Cyril the priceless gift of the Codex Alexandrinus, now in the British Museum, which he sent as a present to Charles I. The following estimate of Cyril's character is a just and generous one[3]:—

> "That Cyril was an honest inquirer after truth there is no reason to doubt; that he was only a lukewarm believer in Orthodoxy, and that the Greeks had much reason to be apprehensive of his teaching, is evident from the Calvinistic spirit which resulted from it. . . . Cyril himself professed to be opposed to Calvinism, and to be an admirer of the Orthodox doctrine; but the Orthodox faith he thought could be combined with the doctrines of Calvin."

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[1] The strangulation took place by order of the Sultan, and at the instigation of the Jesuits.

[2] He afterwards succeeded Cyril as Melchite Patriarch of Alexandria.

[3] Hore's Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church, p. 554.

The Patriarch John, while devoting himself to the spiritual care of his flock, was filled with anxiety about the progress of ecclesiastical affairs in Abyssinia, where, for a time, the struggle between the native Church and the Jesuits appeared as though it must issue in the absorption of the former by the latter.

John died in 1629 A.D., and was succeeded by another John, who, at his consecration, took the name of MATTHEW III., by which name he is known in the records of the Patriarchate. During his episcopate, the Egyptians were cruelly reduced in numbers by the constant recurrence of the plague, and by the frequent outbreaks among the Mameluke troops, who accompanied their acts of insubordination by pillaging and ill-treating the Christians.

Matthew died in 1646 A.D., and was succeeded by MARK VI., a priest of the Monastery of St. Anthony. A few years after his accession, a terrible famine resulted from an exceptionally low Nile, and the Pasha took this opportunity of increasing the taxes, which added to the hardships of the people.

In 1660 A.D., on the death of Mark, the Patriarchate was filled by MATTHEW IV., who wrote a learned treatise on the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist. It was during his tenure of office that the Dominican missionary, Wansleb, visited Egypt; but his book on the Coptic Church, though extremely interesting, is of little value, owing to the manifest inaccuracies with which it abounds.

John-el-Touki succeeded Matthew in 1676 A.D., as JOHN XVI., and presided over the See of Alexandria for upwards of forty years. The closing years of the seventeenth century in Egypt were marked by one of the most terrible storms ever experienced in the country, which burst at the hour of prayer, on a Friday, during the Feast of

Ramadan. Houses and public buildings were destroyed, and much damage was done to life and property. This was followed by famine, and, as usual, pestilence and plague came close in its train. Thousands of people succumbed to sickness and disease, which were, however, mitigated by the humanity of the new Pasha, Ismail by name, who did what lay in his power to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. In all these national misfortunes the Christians suffered more than the Moslems, and the condition of the Coptic Church was reduced to the lowest ebb.

CHAPTER VI.

The Coptic Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.

The Patriarch John, who succeeded to the ecclesiastical throne of Alexandria in 1676 A.D., devoted himself with great assiduity to the task of strengthening and building up the Church. He re-introduced the office of the consecration of the Chrism,[1] which had not been practised for two hundred years. He is also said[2] to have decreed, under pain of anathema, that the baptism of infants should be administered not later than the eighth day after birth. This was the usual practice with female children, but, in the case of males, the Sacrament was generally deferred till the fortieth day, to enable the mother to be present in the Church. Neale, however, adds that this regulation was only carried into effect in Cairo.

In 1629 A.D. M. de Maillet came to Egypt as French Consul-General in Cairo,[3] and he gives many interesting details of the condition of the country at that time. He reckoned the population of Egypt at about four millions, of whom 500,000 inhabited Cairo. Being a staunch Roman Catholic, M. de Maillet had, naturally, little toleration for the Coptic Christians, whom he regarded as heretics. But he was unable to withhold his admiration of the tenacity with which they adhered to their faith, and the practical impossibility of obtaining Coptic children for the purpose of educating them in the tenets of Rome. He held a conference with the Patriarch, who defended the custom in

[1] In the Eastern Church, Confirmation, together with the anointing with consecrated oil, immediately follows Holy Baptism.

[2] Neale's Holy Eastern Church, vol. ii. p. 473.

[3] Both England and France were officially represented in Egypt by their diplomatic agents from the sixteenth century.

the Egyptian Church in regard to the administration of Holy Baptism, and strongly reprobated the Latin practice of baptizing infants in private houses.

John consecrated two Abunas for Abyssinia, and was much concerned, throughout his episcopate, with the renewed attempts on the part of the Jesuits to bring the Ethiopian Church into subjection to Rome. The last of these efforts was made in 1706 A.D., when Du Roule failed to accomplish his task.[1]

The outbreak of war between Turkey and Russia, in 1710 A.D., relieved Egypt of a proportion of the army of occupation. But this only aggravated the evil, so far as the people were concerned, because it opened up an opportunity for civil war, which increased the general misery. Among the numerous Mameluke Emirs who held the power for a brief period, and were then murdered,[2] Ismail Bey stands out in pleasing contrast to the rest. He suppressed the plundering bands of Bedouin Arabs, meted out a rough justice to Christian and Moslem alike, and, during his reign of thirteen years, both life and property were tolerably safe. He suffered the usual fate of Egyptian Governors, and was murdered.

The Patriarch died in 1718 A.D., and was succeeded by PETER VI., a native of Lycopolis. Peter appointed Abdel-Messiah to be Abuna of Abyssinia. During his episcopate Cairo was roused and excited by the preaching of a Turkish reformer, who bitterly attacked the abuses which had crept into the worship of the Moslems. The Sheikhs of the Mosque of El Azhar took alarm, and endeavoured to procure the punishment of the interloper. But they were powerless against the fanaticism of the crowd, on whom the preacher seems to have exerted a most extraordinary influence. In

[1] See chap. vii.

[2] The Pashas sent from Constantinople were for the most part figure-heads, and their rulership was little more than nominal.

the disorders which ensued, the reformer hurriedly decamped.

On the death of Peter in 1727 A.D., JOHN XVII., who had been Abbot of the Monastery of St. Paul, became Patriarch. Soon after his accession, Dr. Pococke[1] visited Egypt. Foreigners travelling through the country in those days were far less liable to molestation than the natives, owing to the protection afforded by the "Capitulations."[2] These consisted of a series of treaties, the earliest of which (concluded with France) is dated 1535 A.D., made between the Ottoman Sultans and the Powers of Europe, which were so framed as to include Egypt, when it was added to the Turkish dominions. At the present time these "Capitulations" press with great hardship upon the people of Egypt, and efforts are being made to obtain their revocation. Dr. Pococke's account of his journey contains much that is of interest, although his information respecting the Coptic Church is misleading, having been mainly derived from Moslems, or from Roman Catholic missionaries.

We find that, in the year 1731 A.D., the Romans had no less than nine missionary stations south of Cairo, extending as far as Derr, in Nubia; for it appears that in that year Pope Clement XII. forwarded instructions to each that they were to obtain a supply of Coptic children, who were to be despatched to Rome to be educated. The attempt, however, was a failure. Clement corresponded with the Patriarch John, with a view to persuading him to submit to the authority of the Papal See, and even sent a Cardinal to negotiate terms. John, however, indignantly rejected all overtures. Clement's successor, Benedict XIV., went further, and committed the schismatical act, so dear to the heart of the successor of St. Peter, of consecrating a Roman Catholic Metropolitan for Egypt. This took place in 1741

[1] Afterwards Bishop of Meath.
[2] See Book II. chap. 1. § *e*.

A.D., and the man selected was Athanasius, a Copt, who resided in Jerusalem.

John was succeeded, in 1745 A.D., by MARK VII., of whom little is known. A few years after his consecration, the Copts, who had for a long time been prohibited from making the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, secured the necessary permission by means of a large bribe. The Christians assembled at a given spot in the desert, and valuable gifts were collected as offerings to be made at the Holy Sepulchre. When the indignation of the Moslems was aroused at these preparations, the Sheikh, from whom the "permit" had been bought, incited the mob to attack the defenceless camp, which was pillaged and dispersed.

The Emir, Ali Bey, assumed the reins of power in 1755 A.D., and shortly afterwards he threw off the Turkish yoke, and declared Egypt to be an independent country. He systematically put to death every one whose existence was inconvenient to himself, and such was his greed, that any Christian suspected of possessing money was arrested and tortured, until he had paid over everything that belonged to him.

The Patriarch Mark gave letters of recommendation, addressed to the Emperor of Abyssinia, to the famous traveller Bruce, who landed in Egypt in 1768 A.D.

Two years later Mark died, and was succeeded by JOHN XVIII. in 1770 A.D. In the same year Ali Bey succumbed to wounds received in a battle with the Mamelukes, who had plotted his destruction. Then ensued about fourteen years of civil war, until the Sultan of Turkey decided to re-conquer the country, and exact the annual tribute which had been withheld. Hassan Pasha, in command of the Turkish army, entered Cairo in 1786 A.D. In the oppressions and confiscations that ensued, the sufferings of the Christians were, as usual, the most acute. They were fined, their

property stolen, even their very names[1] were taken from them. Referring to these troublous times, the Moslem historian, Gabbarti, says: "Tyranny, injustice, and famine reigned throughout the country."[2]

The Patriarch John died in 1797 A.D., sick at heart to see his country ruined commercially and morally by the extortions and cruelties of its rulers, and his flock reduced to abject poverty, and almost to barbarism. He was replaced in the See of Alexandria by MARK VIII., a native of Tammah, and a monk of the Monastery of St. Anthony. Within a few months of his consecration, Napoleon Buonaparte landed at Alexandria, with a force of nearly 40,000 men. His object in invading Egypt was to destroy the British trade in the Mediterranean, and to neutralise the power of England in India. Three weeks later the French army defeated the Mamelukes at Embabeh,[3] in what is known as "The Battle of the Pyramids," and Napoleon immediately took possession of Cairo. The following week Nelson, with the British fleet, anchored off Aboukir,[4] and utterly defeated the French, capturing or destroying thirteen out of their seventeen vessels.

This catastrophe struck terror into Buonaparte's followers. His brief tenure of power had been signalised by various sanitary reforms and police regulations, which had excited the indignation and animosity of the people. The proposal to impose a house-tax in Cairo led to a regular insurrection, which was with difficulty suppressed. Meantime, some of his troops had proceeded up the Nile, to follow and endeavour to conquer the Emir, Murad Bey, and his Mamelukes, who had fled to Upper Egypt after the battle of Embabeh; all supplies for the French army were cut off by

[1] An order was issued forbidding any Christian or Jew to bear the name of any prophet or patriarch mentioned in the Old Testament.

[2] Gabbarti's History of Egypt.

[3] On the west side of the railway bridge that crosses the Nile a few hundred yards south of the Island of Ghezireh.

[4] Fourteen miles east of Alexandria.

the English fleet which was blockading the coast; and the Sultan of Turkey was preparing to march into Egypt by way of Syria, and drive out the invaders.

Napoleon, with his indomitable energy and pluck, took 15,000 of his troops, and started eastward, in January, 1799 A.D., with the object of opposing the Turkish forces, and exciting a revolution in Syria. Jaffa was captured after a short siege, and the garrison (who had entrenched themselves within the inner walls) offered to surrender on condition that their lives would be spared, otherwise they would fight to the death. This proposal was accepted by the French officer, and four thousand prisoners were brought before Buonaparte, who disgraced himself by repudiating the agreement, and by causing the prisoners to be slaughtered on the sea-shore the next day. This cowardly act of treachery is one of the greatest blots on the career of the great Napoleon, and created so furious a feeling against him among the Moslems that he was soon obliged to return to Egypt. He did, indeed, endeavour to take Acre, which he besieged for a month, and at the end of that time the French troops made a desperate assault, losing nearly a thousand men. This, however, was unsuccessful, the town being almost impregnable, owing to the assistance rendered by the British squadron under Sir Sidney Smith. It is difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty whether Napoleon actually caused the sick and wounded French soldiers, during the retreat from Jaffa, to be poisoned, in order that the difficulty and delay of transporting them might be avoided, but the story is given with some show of authority.

Napoleon returned to Cairo in June of the same year, and a month later defeated a large Turkish army which had landed at Aboukir. Hearing, however, of the reverses that had attended the French forces in Europe, he left Egypt secretly, in August, 1799 A.D., for France, resigning to General Kleber the command of his troops in Egypt. Finding his

position untenable, Kleber opened negotiations with the Sultan; but, failing to come to any satisfactory arrangement, he engaged in battle with the Turks at Matarieh,[1] and gained a signal victory (March 21, 1800 A.D.) This did not, however, prevent the Turkish troops in Cairo from pillaging the Christian quarters of the town, and massacring hundreds of the Copts, many of whom fled for safety to the French camp. Kleber's army retaliated by pillaging and slaughtering the Moslems, especially in the Boulac quarter of the town, and by imposing a fine of twelve millions of francs on the inhabitants. In face of the danger by which he was threatened, Kleber made an alliance with Murad Bey, the Mameluke chief whom Napoleon had come to Egypt to destroy. Murad was to have undisturbed possession of Upper Egypt, in return for rendering assistance to the French against the Turks. On June 14, however, Kleber was assassinated in his garden by a fanatic, and his command fell to General Menou.

In February, 1801 A.D., the English fleet, with an army of 15,000 men, anchored off Aboukir. Several battles were fought during the next few months, and, on June 26, the French signed an agreement to evacuate Cairo and leave Egypt. By a similar convention, the garrison at Alexandria were allowed to sail away to Europe.

The defeat of the French army was accomplished by the English troops acting in conjunction with the Ottoman soldiers, and, as soon as the last of Napoleon's force had sailed from Egypt, the British commander handed over the country to the Porte, whereupon the cruel massacres and brutalities, which almost invariably accompany the accession or return to power of the Turks, ensued. The Christians, as usual, suffered most. The troops were quartered on them, and robbery and outrage became the order of the day.

It would have been a happy circumstance for Egypt, and more particularly for the Egyptian Christians, if the English

[1] Close to Heliopolis. See p. 93.

had retained possession of the country. The few months during which they held the reins of power were sufficient to convince the inhabitants of the justice and moderation of their rule. Even the Moslem historian Gabbarti expresses his astonishment that, when the entire valley of the Nile lay at their feet, they resigned it to the Sultan instead of annexing it. Had the latter policy been carried out, the people generally would have escaped eighty years of suffering, and the Copts would have been saved from a vast amount of ill-treatment and misery.

In 1803 A.D. Mohammed Ali became Pasha of Egypt. He was a native of Roumelia, born in 1769 A.D., and was in his early years a tobacconist. Throughout his career he shewed himself to be a man of indomitable energy and ambition. With the aid of a regiment of Albanian troops, who were devoted to his service, he gradually strengthened his authority, defying alike the Ottoman power and the resistance of the Mamelukes. By treachery and bribes, he caused the principal Mameluke Beys to be enticed to enter Cairo, when his Albanians attacked and shot them down. In 1807 A.D., he frustrated an attempt of the British to take possession of Egypt; and the following year, by a gross act of confiscation, he seized almost the entire cultivated land in the country, the unfortunate owners being too weak to resist, and knowing well that any protest would be as much as their lives were worth.

In 1811 A.D. Mohammed Ali sent his son, Toussoun Pasha, on an expedition to conquer Arabia, which was entirely successful, Mecca and Medina being wrested from the hands of the Wahabees.[1] On the day of Toussoun's departure, a great military review was held at the Citadel, to which the remainder of the Mamelukes were invited. At a given

[1] The Wahabees were a sect of Mohammedan reformers, which arose in Central Arabia towards the end of the 18th century. They destroyed all the tombs of saints, and sought to restore the primitive simplicity of Mahomet's code of morals. They became a great political power, but their suppression by Mohammed Ali diminished their influence.

signal they were surrounded, and four hundred and eighty of them were shot down. One only is said to have escaped, by leaping over the wall on his horse, which was killed under him.[1] Within the next few days, a thousand more were slain in Cairo, their property confiscated, and their wives outraged and sold. Thus ended, by practical extermination of the most brutal and treacherous kind, the race of the Mamelukes, who had held supreme power in Egypt for the three centuries preceding the Turkish conquest.

Fearing lest his Albanian soldiers might become too powerful, Mohammed Ali exiled them, and formed a native army officered by Frenchmen. He surrounded himself with European, and, for the most part, Christian officials, although himself a Moslem; but he shewed no favour to the Copts, lest they might acquire too great an influence. Nothing hindered him from removing, either by poison or the sword, any one whose existence stood in the way of his ambition.

The Patriarch Mark, who had lived to see his country pass under the authority of the French, the English, and then the Turks, and to bewail the injustice and tyranny of Mohammed Ali towards his suffering flock, died in 1809 A.D. His successor was PETER VII., a man of high character, who did his utmost to improve the condition of the Coptic Christians.

In 1820 A.D. Mohammed Ali sent an expedition up the Nile, under his son Ismail Pasha, to conquer the Soudan. This was accomplished with little difficulty, owing to internal dissensions, and the large tract of territory lying between Nubia and Abyssinia was annexed to Egypt, remaining an integral part of the dominions of the Pasha until 1885 A.D., when the revolt of the Mahdi threw off the Egyptian yoke. It was reconquered in 1898 A.D., and restored to the dominion of Egypt.

From 1821 A.D. to 1828 A.D. the native troops, under

[1] The traditional spot is shewn at the Citadel.

Ibrahim Pasha, were fighting on the side of the Sultan, in his endeavour to crush the attempt of the Greeks to secure their independence. At length, in 1831 A.D., realising that the resources of the Porte were exhausted by its numerous wars, Mohammed Ali invaded Syria, capturing Jaffa, Acre, and Damascus in rapid succession, and was only restrained from advancing on Constantinople by the interference of the European Powers. Syria was thus ceded to Egypt, but ten years later both Syria and Arabia were re-conquered by the Porte.

It has already been mentioned that, in the eighteenth century, the Roman Catholic missionaries established a Uniat[1] Church in Egypt, which was mainly recruited from among the Melchites, but also included many of the Copts. This schismatic arrangement not unnaturally made the national Patriarchs suspicious of the interference of Western Christians in their ecclesiastical affairs. A genuine attempt, however, was made by the Anglican Church, in the year 1838 A.D., to render disinterested help to the Coptic Church. In that year the Rev. Henry Tattam[2] visited Egypt, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with the condition of the Christians, and what he saw interested him deeply in their spiritual welfare. Writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury[3] on September 27, 1839, he says:

> "It is true that both priests and people are in a very low and fallen condition as a Christian Church. They have the form of Christianity among them; but of its spiritual nature they appear to have no notion whatever. Still, there are many things of a pleasing character which lead me to believe they will one day arise from the dust,

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[1] The Uniat Churches consisted of those who were permitted to follow the doctrines and ceremonies of their own native Church, on the condition that they rejected the jurisdiction of their own Patriarch, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope of Rome. See Book II. chap. iii.

[2] Afterwards Archdeacon of Bedford.

[3] Archbishop Howley.

and return to a pure faith, and to a corresponding practice and conduct."

The following year the Rev. T. Grimshawe spent some months in Cairo, and opened negotiations with the Patriarch, Peter VII. On his return to England, Mr. Grimshawe wrote to the Archbishop, and submitted a scheme which he had prepared, in conjunction with the Rev. J. R. T. Lieder,[1] for the establishment of a training college, in which those seeking Holy Orders in the Coptic Church might be educated for the ministry. This college was opened some years later, but, when the Church Missionary Society withdrew their Mission in 1848 A.D., the scheme fell through, though its influence has undoubtedly been felt in the Coptic Church.

In the year 1848 A.D., Mohammed Ali lost his reason, and the government of the country passed into the hands of his son Ibrahim, who was in a precarious state of health. He died in November, 1849 A.D., three months after his father.

The reign of Mohammed Ali deserves a special notice. In spite of his utter unscrupulousness, as well as of his boundless ambition, he materially increased the prosperity of Egypt. He re-introduced the cultivation of cotton, dug new canals,[2] and established hospitals and medical schools. He improved the roads, and organized an efficient police system. The Citadel Mosque, called Gamia Mohammed Ali, was erected by him at enormous cost. He also revived the overland trade, and the despatch of the mails, across Egypt for India and the East. Another monument to his energy was the Barrage,[3] which was commenced in 1835 A.D., with the object of damming up the waters of the Nile, and extending

[1] Mr. Lieder was the head of the first mission of the C.M.S., and resided in Cairo from 1830 to 1848 A.D.

[2] Notably the great Mahmoudieh Canal, named after the Turkish Sultan Mahmoud, that was carried out by forced labour, during which thousands of Egyptians perished from hunger and blows.

[3] The Barrage is about 15 miles north of Cairo, at the junction of the Rosetta and Damietta branches of the Nile.

the area of irrigated land. But the work was never satisfactorily carried out, and the enormous erection was practically useless. The Khedive Ismael, towards the close of his reign, consulted the late Sir John Fowler, the eminent engineer, as to what would be required to strengthen the foundations; but want of funds prevented the proposed alterations from being carried out. The necessary works, however, were completed between the years 1885 and 1890 A.D., at a cost of £500,000.

Abbas Pasha, a grandson of Mohammed Ali, became Pasha of Egypt in 1849 A.D. He reigned less than six years, and his influence was reactionary. He was a man of bad character, and exceptionally cruel; and was strangled in his own harem in 1854 A.D.

In the same year the Patriarch Peter died, and was succeeded by Cyril "the Reformer," Cyril IV., who was Abbot of the Monastery of St. Anthony. Soon after his consecration, he visited Abyssinia, where he remained two years. On his return, he devoted himself to the building up, and the reform, of the National Church. He erected the flourishing school which stands within the precincts of the Patriarchate, and entirely rebuilt the Cathedral. So eager was he to check any tendency to idolatry among the Copts, that he collected all the sacred pictures which had adorned the old Cathedral, and burnt them publicly in the presence of an enormous crowd. Fortunately, however (so far as we know), they included nothing of any antiquarian or archæological interest.

In the year 1855 A.D., the American Presbyterian Mission came to Egypt, and established itself in the country. Its original object was to convert the Mohammedans, and not to interfere with the Coptic Church. Finding, however, the extreme difficulty of bringing Moslems to embrace Christianity, the missionaries have widened the scope of their efforts by admitting members of the National Church of Egypt as converts, and have thus aroused the opposition of

the native ecclesiastical authorities. Some account of their work is given below.[1]

The Patriarch Cyril laboured earnestly to secure more friendly relations between the Coptic, the Greek, and the Anglican Churches, but his efforts aroused the suspicions of the Moslem authorities, and he was compelled to apply to the British Consul-General for protection. Sabbatier, the French diplomatic representative, offered to use his influence on behalf of the Copts, if the Patriarch would sanction the admission of the Jesuits into Abyssinia, but the bargain was declined. However, the Pasha, though for a time the position of the native Church was improved, was only waiting his opportunity to revenge himself on Cyril, and, in 1861 A.D., the unfortunate Patriarch was poisoned at the instigation, if not by order, of the Government.

On the death of Abbas, Said, the fourth son of Mohammed Ali, became Pasha of Egypt (1854 A.D.) He devoted himself to the development of the country, but by methods which brought no amelioration of their condition to the poorer classes. Under Said the railway was constructed between Cairo and Alexandria, and between Cairo and Suez, and the Suez Canal was commenced. Owing to the pressure of the European Powers, Egypt was an enormous loser, financially, by this latter scheme. Not only was it certain to divert the vast stream of travellers to India and the Far East from visiting, and residing for a few days at the least in, Cairo, *en route* for Suez, but the land for the Canal was granted free, an enormous amount of forced labour was employed in its construction, and the Egyptian Government was pressed into providing nearly half the capital required.

Said Pasha treated the Coptic Church with great injustice and cruelty. His decree that all Egyptians, without distinction of religion, should be liable for military service, was used as a means of persecution towards the Christians, who

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[1] See Book II. chap. vii.

were perpetually tormented to change their religion, and were debarred from promotion in the army. After the Patriarch Cyril had been murdered, hundreds of Copts were dismissed from the Government offices; but, as had so often happened before, their learning and intelligence necessitated their speedy recall.

On the death of Cyril in 1861 A.D., Demetrius II. became Patriarch. He was neither so learned nor so able as his predecessor, but was a good and just man, who endeavoured to rule his Church according to his ability. In the year of his accession, Miss Whately opened her schools in Cairo for the education of Moslem children, which were carried on successfully for upwards of thirty years, but since her death they have been given up.

Said Pasha died in 1863 A.D., and was succeeded as ruler of Egypt by his nephew Ismael, son of Ibrahim Pasha. Ismael was born in 1830 A.D., and had received the principal part of his education in France, which accounted for his preference for European institutions. He realised the importance of carrying out public works for the benefit of his country, although he had absolutely no idea of the rudimentary laws of economy. Much of his vast expenditure was undoubtedly forced upon him by the international jealousies of the Powers, but much, also, was due to his personal luxury and extravagance. In 1867 A.D. he secured the consent of the Porte to his assumption of the title of Khedive, and a few years later (in consideration of an increase in his annual tribute to the Sultan) he obtained a new firman, conferring on him the right of concluding treaties with foreign countries, of coining and borrowing money, and of increasing his army and navy. He next turned his attention to the task of extending his dominions. He annexed Darfur and Kordofan in 1874, and about the same date he purchased Souakim and Massowah, which gave him two important seaports on the Red Sea.

In 1869 A.D. the Suez Canal was opened for traffic, and the inaugural festivities are said to have cost the Khedive upwards of £4,000,000. His actual contribution to the expenses (£20,000,000 in all) of the construction of the Canal was £7,000,000, the remainder having been subscribed by the shareholders. In 1870 (the year after the opening), 486 vessels, of an aggregate burden of nearly 500,000 tons, passed through the Canal. At the present time the number of vessels is nearly 4000, representing a tonnage of over twelve millions.

The personal expenses of the Khedive increased every year, and in 1875 A.D. he was forced to raise money by the sale of his shares in the Suez Canal. These were purchased by Lord Beaconsfield, for the British Government, for £4,000,000, and thus we secured an important voice in the management and control of the undertaking.

In February of the same year, the Soudan railway, which was projected to run from Wady Halfa (at the second cataract) to Khartoum, was commenced by Sir John Fowler, who had for several years employed a large staff of engineers to survey the entire district. Unfortunately, the works were stopped, after about thirty miles of the line had been laid, owing to the financial bankruptcy of the country.

The Patriarch Demetrius died in 1873. Immediately afterwards, a large number of influential Coptic laymen consulted together, and, acting under the authority of one of the Canons of the Egyptian Church,[1] drew up a scheme of reform, to which they determined to secure the assent of the new Patriarch, before electing him to the office. Accordingly they proceeded, with the sanction of Mark, the Metropolitan of Alexandria, who acted as Vicar-General during the vacancy, to appoint two Councils—one, of the clergy, to deal with ecclesiastical affairs, and the

[1] The Canon runs thus: 'In all important matters the Patriarch must consult learned and pious men, both priests and laymen, singly and collectively. The decisions arrived at must be written down.'

other, of laymen, for civil matters. These were to be formed in every diocese. The Bishops accepted the scheme, which obtained the sanction of the Khedive; and, when it was found to be working satisfactorily, the prelates took the necessary steps to choose a Patriarch.

Cyril V., the 112th successor of St. Mark, was appointed in 1875 A.D. He was a monk of the Monastery of Baramous, in the Natron valley, who had earned a great reputation for holiness; and he undertook to conform to the rules which had been prepared during the vacancy. For some time all went well. A Theological College was started, soon after his accession, in Cairo, and placed under the direction of Felthaus,[1] Dean of St. Mark's Cathedral, who was specially qualified, both by learning and temperament, to guide and carry on the work. But before long the Patriarch became impatient of control. He abolished the College, and ignored the representations of the Council of laymen, so that the members refused to attend the meetings. This state of things went on until 1883 A.D., when a large and influential number of the Copts demanded the re-appointment of the Council. Cyril gave way to their wishes, and an election of members took place. But his conservative instincts, and, doubtless, the recollection of the fate that overcame his reforming predecessor, led him to take up a quiet but firm attitude of masterly inactivity, and the situation remained unchanged.

The financial difficulties of the country steadily increased, until what is known as the "Dual Control" was established. Under this arrangement M. de Blignières became Minister of Public Works, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Rivers Wilson, Minister of Finance, under the Premiership of Nubar Pasha, while the entire control of the revenue and expenditure of Egypt passed into the hands of a European Commission. In 1879 A.D., Ismael revolted against this tutelage,

[1] Or Philotheus.

and dismissed the Cabinet, replacing it by a native Ministry under Cherif Pasha. The patience of the Powers was at length exhausted, and on June 26th, 1879 A.D., Ismael abdicated, and was succeeded by his son, Tewfik Pasha.

The following year the new Khedive inaugurated a series of reforms, including a Law of Liquidation for reducing the public debt. In 1881 A.D. came the military revolt under Arabi Pasha, who demanded the dismissal of the Ministry, and an increase in the army. The Khedive yielded to these requests, and, a few months later, Arabi became Minister of War, defied his master's authority, and practically constituted himself military dictator of the country. Tewfik, relying on the support of England and France, resisted the anti-European measures of the new Cabinet, whereupon Arabi, whose influence over the troops was absolute, commenced to pillage and massacre the Europeans in Alexandria. The English and French fleets had anchored outside the harbour in May. After vainly endeavouring to secure the co-operation of France, the British fleet, on July 11th, bombarded the forts of Alexandria. Two months later, Arabi and his forces were completely routed at Tel-el-Kebir by Sir Garnet (now Viscount) Wolseley, and the rebels were exiled to Ceylon. Cairo was occupied by the British forces, and our virtual rule of the country has continued ever since, to the benefit and prosperity of the people. Throughout these difficulties the Khedive behaved with great courage, and displayed both wisdom and self-restraint.

In 1883 A.D. the revolt of the Soudan, under the Mahdi, commenced. In November of that year a force of 10,000 Egyptian troops, under Hicks Pasha, was annihilated, and in February, 1884 A.D., Baker Pasha and his force were defeated at Tokar. About the same time General Gordon was sent by Mr. Gladstone to Khartoum, to secure the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrisons from the Soudan, it having been decided that Egypt should relinquish that territory. The rebels were defeated at El-Teb and Tamanieb by a small

force under General Sir G. Graham in March, 1884; but when it was found that the Mahdi had secured large reinforcements, and that Gordon's position was imperilled, an army of 7000 men under Wolseley was despatched from England, in October, 1884 A.D., to rescue him.

Wolseley proceeded to Khartoum with the utmost despatch, marching the entire distance from the Second Cataract (except where transit was made by water) by the surveys that had been prepared by Sir John Fowler. Without these, the route across the desert would have been practically impossible, owing to the difficulty of finding water. At length, on January 28th, 1885 A.D., the relief force reached Khartoum, only to learn that the gallant Gordon had been assassinated two days before. The expedition was withdrawn, and the Soudan was left to its fate. For years a condition of anarchy prevailed, during which time the Christians suffered terribly. Some idea of the condition to which they have been reduced by the troubles in the Soudan may be gathered from the following report, drawn up by Lieutenant-Colonel Drage, in March, 1900:—

"The Coptic Christians appear to have owned in the past considerable Church property in the Soudan, enriched from time to time by gifts from the pious and benevolent.

"In fact, the riches of the Church, with its priceless manuscripts relating to this ancient creed, appear to have been centred at Khartoum.

"On the fall of this town, and during the Dervish regime, their property was either stolen or utterly destroyed, and the majority of the Coptic Christians were put to death under one pretence or another.

"A remnant was, however, spared at the instigation of a Dervish Emir, called Mohamed-el-Kheir (who had been under many obligations to Ibrahim Bey Khalil, a Coptic merchant of Khartoum). This Emir begged the lives of those who remained, and this small band—plundered and mutilated—were allowed to *exist* in retirement under this Sheikh's favour and protection. Despoiled of their

property, they gained a precarious livelihood, the women by needlework, the men by selling such garden produce as they were allowed to retain from their small agricultural pursuits. A very heavy toll was, indeed, taken on their labour.

"The Copts, as a class, are law-abiding, patient, and industrious, and are respected by their Moslem neighbours. They have, moreover, always been faithful to the Government. They have now neither church nor property, and have no money wherewith to reconstruct their places of worship, and the schools necessary for the education of their youth."

When the Mahdi died shortly afterwards, his successor Abdallah, generally known as the Khalifa, became the paramount power, though difficulties occurred between him and the Sheikh of the Senussi in Tripoli, who disputed his authority in the Soudan. The brilliant victory of the Sirdar, Sir H. Kitchener,[1] in 1898 A.D., when he captured Omdurman, and restored the Soudan to Egypt, the Khalifa being slain during the battle; and the subsequent operations under Kitchener's successor, Sir F. R. Wingate, when the rebellion was finally subdued by the capture of Osman Digna, are too fresh in the recollections of the public to need any detailed description.

Immediately after the suppression of Arabi Pasha's revolt in Egypt in 1882 A.D., Lord Dufferin was despatched to Cairo, in order to draw up a form of constitution for the proper government of the country, and to Sir Evelyn Baring[2] was committed the arduous task of reforming the administration. What his difficulties have been is hardly realised by the great body of Englishmen. They have seen order, and security to life and property, restored; they have seen slavery abolished, and forced labour become a thing of the past; they have seen the fellaheen become free and contented, and prosperity take the place of financial ruin. But

[1] Now Lord Kitchener of Khartoum.
[2] Now Viscount Cromer.

they know little or nothing of the international jealousies; of the strong opposition offered to every detail by the French, who can never forgive us for their own mistake in refusing to share the military operations of 1882 A.D. with us; and of the bitter and almost fanatical resistance of the Pashas to the curtailment of their autocratic powers over the peasantry. For eighteen years Lord Cromer has laboured, steadily, firmly, and untiringly, to lift Egypt out of the hopeless slough of misery and poverty into which it had sunk, and to make it—what it is to-day—a flourishing, happy, and prosperous nation. Fundamentally, the people are contented, because their position is better and more independent than it has ever been since the Mohammedan conquest. But the Moslem jealousy of Christian rule finds expression in some of the "patriotic" newspapers, and in bazaar gossip; and the professional agitator is indefatigable in his efforts to stir up racial animosity and religious strife.

The death of the Khedive Tewfik, in 1892 A.D., was sincerely mourned by the nation. His son, Abbas II., succeeded him at the age of seventeen. His attempts, under the mistaken advice of those who possessed his confidence, to throw over the influence and authority of Great Britain, were firmly and tactfully frustrated by Lord Cromer; and the wisdom that comes with years and responsibility has taught the Khedive that his own position is strengthened, and that his people are increasingly benefited, by the support which British influence gives to his government.

The ecclesiastical affairs of the Coptic Church have not undergone any striking change during the Patriarchate of Cyril. In 1890 A.D., a large number of the most intelligent and educated laymen among the Copts formed a society, called the Tewfik Society,[1] the object of which was to introduce various measures of Church reform. The Patriarch took alarm at what he considered the revolutionary character

[1] The name was not taken from that of the Khedive. It is an Arabic word, meaning 'pioneer.'

of the changes advocated, and went so far as to represent the aims of the Society to the Khedive as treasonable, and to request that the Councils might be suppressed. Tewfik made careful enquiries into the whole dispute, and acquainted himself thoroughly with the arguments on both sides. He then urged upon the Patriarch the desirability of yielding to the wishes of his people, and illustrated his advice by his own experience in the civil government of the country.

When Abbas became Khedive, the dispute waxed warmer. Athanasius, Bishop of Sanabou, gave the support of his sanction to the new Society, and was excommunicated. This so incensed the reforming party that they exerted their influence to secure the banishment of Cyril to Nitria, Athanasius being called upon to act as Vicar during his absence. A revulsion of feeling soon set in, and the Patriarch was recalled, returning to Cairo amid the acclamations of the people. Athanasius shewed great moderation and tact, in the trying circumstances in which he was placed, by using his influence in checking the extravagances of the reformers, and endeavouring to guide their energies into wise channels.

It was long, however, before Cyril could be persuaded to remove his sentence of excommunication from Athanasius, and to be reconciled to him. This has now been done, and they are on the most friendly terms. Four Councils have been appointed, one to exercise supervision over the schools, one to manage the Church funds, one to examine into the condition of the sacred fabrics, and one to regulate the ecclesiastical courts.

Gradually, too, the affairs of the Church have improved in other ways. The Theological College has been re-opened, under Felthaus, and an efficient staff of teachers has been engaged. The Tewfik Society has done useful work in setting on foot two excellent schools, one for boys and one for girls. The members have learnt that, however keenly they may desire reform, it cannot be prematurely forced upon the

Church without detriment to the cause of Christianity. They are content to prepare the way for constitutional changes in the future, and in the meantime to endeavour to increase the spiritual tone of the people. The Patriarch, whose reactionary instincts were so bitterly resented by the younger and more ardent generation of Copts, has had a very difficult position to fill. On the one hand, remembering what happened to Cyril IV., he has no wish to incur the animosity of the Moslems, by taking such revolutionary measures in ecclesiastical affairs as might give a handle to the accusation that he was intriguing with the English. On the other hand, he realises that many of the present generation of Copts have been educated under the auspices of the American Presbyterian Mission, and have, insensibly perhaps, imbibed the non-episcopal and non-catholic doctrines held by these Christians. It is not unreasonable, therefore, that he should regard with distrust many of the suggestions for the reform of the ancient Church, which was founded by the Evangelist St. Mark, when he feels, reasonably or unreasonably, that he might be called upon to sanction changes that would be at variance with the traditions handed down to him from the days of the Apostles.

For some years the Patriarch was so suspicious of the motives of the Anglican Church that he even refused to receive Dr. Blyth, the Bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem and the East, to whom, at his consecration in 1887 A.D., the jurisdiction over Anglican congregations in Egypt and the Soudan was committed. Happily, however, he has learnt to realise that the Church of England has no desire to interfere in any way with the independence of a Sister Church. She strongly deprecates and discourages proselytism from the Coptic, or any other branch of the Eastern, Church; but she aims at promoting, by every means in her power, the reunion of Christendom,[1] by which the

[1] It is hardly necessary to add that the Anglican Church would resist, to the utmost, any scheme of reunion that accorded an ecclesiastical supremacy (which is alike unscriptural and uncatholic) to the Pope of Rome.

power of the Gospel in the world would be enormously increased.

In 1900 A.D., the writer visited Egypt, and had several interviews with the Patriarch, whom he found to be well disposed towards the Church of England, and anxious to promote a closer relationship between that Church and the Church of Egypt. On the occasion of one of his visits, he met Athanasius, Bishop of Sanabou,[1] and at another visit he was introduced to Sarapamoun, Bishop of Khartoum, who was on the point of starting, with the Sirdar's permission, for his diocese. He had been collecting money in Cairo for rebuilding his church and schools, which had been destroyed by the Khalifa. The writer was able to announce to the Patriarch, and to Sarapamoun, that the Association for the Furtherance of Christianity in Egypt had made a grant of £250 towards the rebuilding of the Coptic Schools at Khartoum. Within four months the schools had been opened, with 150 pupils.

Although, for political reasons, it has wisely been decided by Lord Cromer and the Sirdar that, until the Soudan has quieted down under the civil government, no mission work among the Moslems can be permitted in that region, a site has been set apart, through the kindness of Sir F. R. Wingate, for an Anglican church and residence in Khartoum, as the following letter will show.

[Copy.]

"War Office.
"Egyptian Army.
"Cairo.
"May 2, 1900.

"My dear Lord Cromer,—

"Referring to the Rev. Montague Fowler's letter to you of the 6th April, which I now return, I have to inform your Lordship that, on my arrival in Khartoum, I made inquiries as to the site selected by Lord Kitchener for an Anglican church and residence, and found that a site had been set aside in a very central position, a short

[1] See p. 140.

distance in from the bank of the Blue Nile. . . . I have given instructions that this site is to be definitely allotted for the purpose of building a church, &c., and pending the completion of the necessary business transactions in connection with the matter, I will see the land is in no way interfered with. . . .

"Believe me, my dear Lord Cromer,

"Yours very sincerely,

"(Signed) F. R. Wingate."

It is satisfactory to note that the ancient feuds between the Coptic and Greek Churches in Egypt, to which reference has been made in this volume, have entirely died out. The relations between Cyril and the late Greek Patriarch Sophronius[1] were of a very friendly character, and the successor of Sophronius, Photius[2] by name, is in favour of promoting closer relations between the three great representatives of the Christian Church—the Greek, the Coptic, and the Anglican.[3] In spite of the numerical insignificance of the National Church of Egypt,[4] her prospects are brighter than they have been for many centuries; and, if only she seeks the Divine guidance, and endeavours to grow in spirituality, a great future lies before her, in which she may be permitted to take a prominent part in promoting the extension of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ upon earth.

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1 He died in 1899.
2 Formerly Bishop of Nazareth.
3 See Book II. chap. ii.
4 See Book II. chap. ix.

CHAPTER VII.

The Church of Abyssinia.

The country of Abyssinia, which lies to the south of the Soudan, and stretches eastward to the Red Sea, is called Ethiopia by Herodotus,[1] but to what extent it may be identified with the references to Ethiopia in Holy Scripture, it is almost impossible to determine. At the same time, the traces of Hebrew rites and customs among the Abyssinians (such as circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath, the distinction between clean and unclean food, and the law requiring a man to marry the childless widow of his brother[2]) give some probability to the current belief among the Copts that there was an ancient connection between the Abyssinians and the Jews.

According to the traditional legend, the Queen of Sheba ruled over Eastern Ethiopia, and the result of her visit to King Solomon was that she bore a son to him, named Menihilec. When he had reached man's estate, Menihilec visited the Court of Solomon, and, with the connivance of his father, and the assistance of four priests whom he had bribed to aid him, he succeeded in carrying off the Ark of the Covenant, and removing it to his own country. The influence of Judaism in Abyssinia, in the centuries preceding the introduction of Christianity, is thus accounted for.

In the Acts of the Apostles[3] we find the narrative of the conversion, by Philip the Evangelist, of an Ethiopian, who was chamberlain to Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, and it has been argued that the introduction of Christianity into those regions must have dated from Apostolic times.

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[1] Book II. chap. iv. 197.
[2] cf. Deut. xxv. 5, 10, called the Levirate law.
[3] viii. 24.

Indeed, we have statements made by various historians that the Gospel was first preached in Ethiopia by the Apostles themselves—St. Jerome[1] mentions St. Andrew; Rufinus[2] and Socrates[3] speak of St. Matthew; while St. Chrysostom[4] maintained that St. Thomas was the Evangelist of those regions.

Whatever element of truth there may be in any of these traditions, it can be confidently stated that there is no evidence to show that the Abyssinians were in possession of even the most rudimentary doctrines or practices of the Church of Christ, prior to the visit of Frumentius and Edesius in the fourth century. The narrative, which the historian Rufinus[5] has preserved (he states that he received it direct from the latter, who was then a priest at Tyre) is as follows.

About the year 330 A.D., Meropius, a philosopher (or, more probably, a merchant) of Tyre, set out on a voyage of exploration, with a view to visiting India. He took with him two young relatives (according to some accounts, they were his sons), the elder of whom was Frumentius, and the younger Edesius. On the journey home, the vessel touched at an Abyssinian port to obtain either food or water. The natives, who had but recently broken off their alliance with the Romans, had vowed vengeance on all who could be identified with the latter, in consequence of injuries they had received from the crew of a trading vessel. Before they could defend themselves from the sudden and unexpected attack, Meropius and all who were with him were massacred, except the two youths, who were discovered sitting under a tree, reading, and were taken alive, and sold as slaves to the King.

They soon won his confidence and esteem, and Edesius

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[1] Cat. Script. i. 262.
[2] Hist. Eccl. x. 9.
[3] i. 19.
[4] Hom. 31.
[5] Hist. Eccl. i. 9.

was made his cup-bearer, while Frumentius became his treasurer and private secretary. On his death-bed, the King made his wife regent of the country, and released the two strangers from any obligation to remain in his dominions. In response, however, to the Queen's urgent entreaties, they stayed to assist her in the management of the kingdom, and to direct the education of her youthful son. Their power and authority, which they used with discretion, gradually increased, and they applied themselves with special diligence to the promotion of Christianity throughout the land, and particularly to the provision of places of worship. As soon as the young King came of age, the two brothers returned to their own home, and shortly afterwards Edesius became a presbyter of the Church in Tyre, where he met Rufinus, and related to him what had taken place.

Frumentius, however, journeyed straight to Alexandria, and presented himself before the Patriarch Athanasius, who was, on the day of his arrival, presiding over a synod of the Bishops. Frumentius described the experience which he and his brother had undergone, and urged the Pope[1] to send a Bishop to build up the Church, and to supervise the Christians, in the country which had so long been his home. Athanasius and his brother Bishops considered the request with great care, and then the Patriarch, having sent for Frumentius, addressed him in the following words: "What other man shall we find such as thou art, in whom is the spirit of God, as He is in thee, who will be able to discharge these duties?"

With the concurrence and assistance of the other prelates, Athanasius then consecrated Frumentius, who returned to Abyssinia, and fixed his See at Axum. He received every support and encouragement from the young King whom he had educated, and, according to tradition, his ministrations

[1] The Bishop of Alexandria was called the Pope from very early times. The assumption of that title by the Bishop of Rome was not made until considerably later. See Note, p. 5.

were almost miraculously successful. His memory is preserved in the Ethiopic Annals, where he is always spoken of as Abu Salama (the Father of Peace), a title which is held by the Metropolitan of Axum to this day.

The date of the consecration of Frumentius can be fixed, within narrow limits, by the testimony of the letter[1] written by Constantius[2] to Abra and Azba,[3] princes of Ethiopia, urging them to replace Frumentius by Theophilus, a Bishop in communion with George, the Arian Patriarch of Alexandria, who had been intruded into the See on the expulsion of Athanasius. The following quotation from the letter shows the bitterness with which Constantius pursued the unhappy Patriarch. The princes are asked

> "to send Bishop Frumentius into Egypt with all possible expedition, there to be judged by the most venerable George, and the other Egyptian prelates, in whom is the supreme authority of ordaining and judging of Bishops. For unless you will pretend to be ignorant of what all the world knows, you must be sensible that Frumentius was consecrated by Athanasius, a man made up of wickedness, and who, not being able in the least to vindicate himself as to any of the crimes he stands charged withal, was thereupon deposed, and has since that turned a vagabond, roving from one country to another, as if he hoped to lose his guilt by shifting his dwelling."

Of the successors of Frumentius (as Bishops of Axum, and Metropolitans of Abyssinia) we have nothing but a record of names for upwards of a century.

The next event of interest took place between the years 460 A.D. and 480 A.D., in the reign of Alamid, when, as we

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1 Preserved by Athanasius in his Apology to Constantius (Athanas. Histor. Tracts, with notes by I.H.N. pp. 182, 183).

2 He succeeded Constantine as Emperor in 337 A.D., and this letter must have been written before that date.

3 Also called Abreha and Atzbeha.

learn from Mendezius,[1] a number of monks were sent from Rome into Ethiopia. Their names are given as follows: Araguai (or Michael), Alef, Gair, Afe, Adimata, Cuba, Garima,[2] Saham, Lebanos[3], and Pantaleon. It is clear that (as Mendezius explains) these missionaries did not come from Rome, but were adherents of the Greek Church, and belonged to the great Empire of the East, the ruler of which had his seat at Constantinople. Either they were members of a mission from the Patriarchate of Antioch, or more probably were sent by the prelates of the Church of Alexandria, in order that the work commenced by Frumentius might be strengthened and carried on.

It must be remembered that, shortly before the date above mentioned, the great schism in the Church of Egypt had taken place, as the result of the deposition of the Patriarch Dioscorus by the Council of Chalcedon. Whether it is due to the teaching and influence of these missionaries, or whether it may be attributed to the conservative character, in religious matters, which the Abyssinians have shewn throughout their chequered history, cannot be stated with any degree of certainty; but we have abundant evidence of the fact that the Church in Abyssinia remained faithful to the mother Church of Egypt, rejecting with her the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, and refusing to accept the intruding Patriarchs and Metropolitans which succeeding Emperors endeavoured to force upon her.

Ludolf[4] gives some interesting and quaint legends connected with several of the monks whose names are recited above. He tells us how the Ethiopic poet sings of churches erected and dedicated to the memory of Pantaleon, who is credited with the power of raising the dead, and causing the widow and orphan to sing for joy. When Likanos prayed, the fingers of his upturned hands burned like lamps

[1] He quotes from the Chronicon Axumense.
[2] Or Gavima. [3] Or Likanos.
[4] Commentaries.

of fire; and, when he held a staff, his hands were seen to be perforated. Araguai is the Ethiopian equivalent of Michael, and it should be borne in mind that the Archangel Michael is the patron saint of the Ethiopian Church and kingdom, and to him is dedicated the twelfth day of every month in the calendar. It was probably some special qualities of saintliness which caused so hallowed a name to be given to the leader of this mission.

In the year 530 A.D., the Emperor Justinian, being engaged in a war with the Persians, sent an ambassador named Julian to Hellenesteus, King of Ethiopia, as well as to the King of the Homerites,[1] urging them, as Christian nations, to aid him in his operations. A few years previously, Hellenesteus, at the request of the Christian Homerites (who complained of the oppressions to which they were subjected by the Jews and heathen among whom they lived), had crossed the Red Sea, and, having defeated and killed the King of the country, raised Esimetheus, a Homerite Christian, to the throne. The Ethiopians replied to Justinian, promising their assistance, chiefly in the direction of competing with Persian trade, but nothing practical was effected. The Homerites were equally powerless to aid the Emperor, being themselves engaged in a war with the Ethiopian troops, that had been left in their territory to protect them from attack at the hands of their hereditary foes.

Esimetheus was deposed by these invaders, and a Jewish Christian, Abraham by name (who had formerly been a slave to a Roman merchant residing at the port of Adel, in Ethiopia) was placed on the throne. It is to this period that we must ascribe the persecution of the Christian Homerites, among whom were Aretas and his wife, and their companions, who are variously computed at 280 or

[1] The Homerites, or Sabæans, were a race occupying the coast on both sides of the Red Sea, but their principal settlements appear to have been on the Arabian side.

340. Aretas, who had held a high position in Ethiopia, had been appointed Governor of Nagran. The leader in this disgraceful attack on the followers of Christ (possibly at the instigation of Abraham) was Dunaan, a Jewish sectary, who besieged Nagran, and tortured the Christians with every form of cruelty. Numerous authorities[1] bear testimony to the unflinching courage of Aretas, to his refusal to submit to the rites of Judaism, and to his bold confession of faith in the Trinity and in the Incarnation.

It was not long before vengeance overtook Dunaan. The Emperor of Axum, Elesbaan by name,[2] at the request of the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, Timotheus III. (520 to 536 A.D.) raised an army of 120,000 men, crossed the Red Sea in twenty-three ships, and utterly defeated the enemy. He restored Nagran to the Christians, and placed a son of the martyred Aretas on the throne, thus founding an Ethiopian Christian dynasty, which ruled over the Homerites for several generations.

The Abuna Cyril was appointed, about 650 A.D., by Benjamin, Patriarch of Alexandria. He sent with Cyril a learned and saintly monk, named Tecla Haimanot, who was the founder of Monasticism among the Ethiopians, and has ever since been held in high honour by the Abyssinian nation.

In the year 689 A.D. a priest arrived in Egypt, from "India," with a request that Simon, who had succeeded Isaac as Patriarch of Alexandria a few months previously, would consecrate a Bishop for his country, who might return with him. There is some doubt as to whether the appeal came from Abyssinia (which is frequently called India), or from a district further east, such as Malabar. The

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[1] Quoted by Baronius (Ann. 522).

[2] He is so called by the Greek and Latin authorities. The Ethiopic poet styles him Caleb, while the Syrian writers give his name as Aidog or Adad.

argument in favour of the latter supposition is that, according to the constitution of the Ethiopian Church, the Metropolitan (or Abuna) must be chosen and consecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria, although the Bishops (usually natives of Abyssinia) were chosen and consecrated by the Abuna. It may, however, have been the case that a supply of fit men for the episcopal office had failed, and that the Abyssinians claimed the aid of the Patriarch in providing for their needs, in the same way as the Soudanese had appealed to Simon's predecessor eleven years before.

The priest was informed that the consent of the Emir of Egypt would have to be obtained before the Patriarch could do what was asked of him. Meanwhile Theodore, the Gaianite[1] Bishop, made overtures to the priest, and proceeded to consecrate a Bishop, who departed with the messenger and two other priests. After they had journeyed for twenty days, they were arrested, and condemned to the punishment of the loss of hands and feet. The Patriarch, who was entirely blameless in the matter, was ordered to receive two hundred lashes for sending them off without leave, but he was able to prove his innocence, and was graciously pardoned. The unhappy Theodore, however, was crucified.[2]

For the next hundred and fifty years the records of the Abyssinian Church are non-existent, and there is practically no means of ascertaining the progress of Christianity in Ethiopia during that period.

In the year 845 A.D., the Metropolitan of Axum, John by name, incurred the displeasure of the Queen of Abyssinia, who was acting as regent during the absence of her husband on a military expedition. She made an attempt

[1] An heretical sect, named after Gaianas, who set himself up as a rival to Theodosius in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, in 536 A.D. See p. 43.

[2] Butcher's Story of the Church of Egypt, vol. i. p. 392.

on the Bishop's life, whereupon he fled the country, and returned to his monastery in Egypt, reporting himself to Joseph, who was Patriarch of Alexandria at that time. As soon as the King came back from the war, and learned what had happened, he was much displeased with the action of his wife; and at once despatched a messenger to the Patriarch, expressing his regret, and entreating that the Metropolitan would return. John immediately went back to his See, and was welcomed with great cordiality both by the King and the populace.

It has been recorded above[1] that, in the year 882 A.D. Michael, Patriarch of Alexandria, was condemned by the Sultan, Ahmed Ebn Touloun, to pay a fine of 20,000 pieces of gold. The sentence was absolutely illegal, and no attempt was made to put forward even a plausible excuse for so monstrous a proceeding. The unhappy Bishop, however, at his wits' end to satisfy his tormentors (and thus save the Church from a fresh persecution), sold all the Church property he could lay hands on, including some land outside Fostat,[2] which had belonged to a colony of Abyssinians. Though the Egyptian Christians were heavily taxed in order that the required sum might be raised, it does not appear that any levy was made on the Ethiopian Church for this purpose. In fact, from the early part of the ninth century, communication of every kind had been broken off between the Church of Egypt and her daughter Church in the South, owing to the constant wars and disturbances which had so disastrous an effect on the progress of Christianity in Northern Africa.

During that period the powers of the Metropolitan of Abyssinia were, so far as can be gathered, exercised by the reigning Kings, who not only regarded themselves as

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[1] See p. 75.

[2] The name given by Amr to the new city which he built after capturing Babylon, on the site where his tent had been pitched—*fostat* being the Arabic for tent.

supreme in all matters ecclesiastical, but on certain occasions actually presumed to celebrate the Holy Communion.[1]

Soon after Cosmas III. succeeded to the Patriarchate of Alexandria (in 921 A.D.), an ambassador arrived from Abyssinia with a request that a new Abuna might be consecrated. The messenger added that the King, who was of great age, and suffering in health, wished for the assistance of a Metropolitan, who would educate and control his two sons. In response to this appeal, Cosmas proceeded to consecrate a man of considerable ability and piety, named Peter, who was received with great honour on his arrival at Axum; and, on the death of the King, which occurred shortly afterwards, he was appointed regent of the kingdom, the young princes being specially under his care. The King had charged Peter that, when the lads grew up, he was to crown whichever of them gave promise of the greatest fitness for governing the kingdom. In course of time, the Bishop selected the younger of the two, and caused him to be proclaimed ruler. The elder acquiesced in the decision, and retired into private life.

Unfortunately, however, this peaceful solution of a difficult problem was not destined to be carried out. Two wandering monks arrived in Abyssinia, and applied to Peter for pecuniary aid. On his refusal to help them, they set themselves to work out a scheme of revenge. The leading spirit of the two, Menas by name, forged a letter purporting to have been written by the Patriarch Cosmas, in which Peter was described as an impostor, who had never been consecrated by him, nor appointed Metropolitan of Axum. It proceeded to say that Menas was the true Abuna sent by Cosmas, and exhorted all good Christians to expel both Peter and the new King, and to place on the throne the elder brother, who was the rightful heir to the kingdom.

Menas shewed the forged document to the latter, who

[1] Abu Salih (Churches of Egypt).

gladly availed himself of this pretext for asserting his own claims. In the civil war which followed, the younger brother was taken prisoner, Peter was exiled, and Menas was made Metropolitan. The other monk, Victor, who seems to have been a mere tool in the hands of his companion, escaped to Egypt, where he related the circumstances to the Patriarch.

Cosmas immediately issued a sentence of excommunication against Menas, and the King, in order to make his peace with the Patriarch, put the intruder to death. He then sent messengers to Peter to recall him, but, unfortunately, he had perished in exile. His chaplain, however, who had been with him to the last, was invited to Axum, and appointed Metropolitan. The King refused to allow him to travel to Egypt for the purpose of securing consecration, and confirmation of his preferment, from the Patriarch; and he was kept as a kind of State prisoner, and compelled to discharge the functions of his office, and to acknowledge no superior authority but that of the King. This irregular state of things, by which the Abuna of Abyssinia retained an absolute independence of the Patriarch of Alexandria, continued for about seventy years.[1]

It was not long before Abyssinia was again plunged into civil war, owing to the usurpation of the throne by two women in succession, who each endeavoured to secure her position by putting to death all the descendants of the rightful ruler. In this they were successful, save with one exception; and the survivor, with a view to recovering the crown, thought it wise to enlist the sympathy and support of the Egyptian Church. Accordingly, he sent a letter to the Patriarch, through the King of Nubia (all the ports by which direct communication could have been made with Egypt being in the hands of the rebels), praying for assistance, so that the Christian religion might be

[1] Butcher's Story of the Church of Egypt, vol. i. pp. 487-489.

preserved in his country. He complained that successive Patriarchs[1] had ceased to care for the spiritual wants of Abyssinia, so that his people were without a chief pastor.

As soon as the appeal reached Philotheus, a monk named Daniel, belonging to the monastery of St. Macarius, was consecrated and sent to Axum as Abuna. He was enthusiastically welcomed on arriving at his destination (in 995 A.D.), and shortly afterwards the young King obtained possession of the throne.

During the latter part of the eleventh century Egypt prospered under Bedr-el-Jamal, an Armenian Christian, who was made Commander-in-Chief of the army by the Caliph, and for twenty years was practically ruler of the land. But, in spite of Bedr's influence, the unfortunate Patriarch, Christodoulos, was, towards the close of his life, frequently arrested on frivolous and unfounded charges. Just before his death, in 1078 A.D., he was imprisoned because the Metropolitan of Abyssinia had been too friendly with the Moslems of that country, and had induced them to partake of wine when he entertained them! Christodoulos explained that there must be some mistake, as he had not consecrated an Abuna; though Cyril, who had recently been elected, had applied to him for episcopal orders, and he was actually on the point of despatching Mercurius, Bishop of Wissim, to take part in the ceremony. This statement of the case satisfied Bedr; Mercurius was allowed to depart on his errand; and the Patriarch was set at liberty.

There appears, however, to have been some informality or irregularity in the consecration of Cyril, which afforded a pretext for an ambitious Egyptian monk, named Severus, to aim at supplanting him as Metropolitan of Abyssinia.

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[1] Metropolitans were sent into Abyssinia during the Patriarchate of Macarius, Theophanius, Mennas II., and Ephraem.

He secured for himself the influence of Bedr, partly by bribes, and partly by the promise to build four mosques in that country, and to do his utmost to further the interests of the Moslems. Bedr issued a mandate to the Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyril II., for the consecration of Severus, which he weakly obeyed, and Severus at once set out for Axum. On his arrival, he explained that he had been sent to supersede Cyril. The latter fled to Egypt, and was promptly beheaded for no apparent reason.

Severus, though nothing can excuse the means by which he obtained his appointment, at once set himself to combat the principal abuses that had gradually arisen in the Abyssinian Church, foremost among them being the practice of polygamy.

The following year, Bedr somewhat altered his policy towards the Christians. He treated the Patriarch with harshness and injustice, and, amongst other things, insisted on his sending immediately two of his suffragan Bishops to Abyssinia, to enforce the erection of the mosques there which Severus had promised to build. It transpired, however, that Severus had built seven, but that they were hardly completed before the inhabitants had risen in indignation, levelled them to the ground, and endeavoured to kill the Abuna, who was rescued by the Emperor and imprisoned. A further message to the effect that unless the mosques were rebuilt, all the churches in Egypt would be demolished, elicited a spirited reply from the Emperor of Axum, to the effect that if a single stone of any of the houses of God in Egypt were touched, he would destroy the city of Mecca, and send every brick and stone to Cairo.

This firm attitude on the part of the Christian ruler of Abyssinia convinced Bedr that it would be more prudent to desist from persecuting the Church in Egypt. The story shows how powerful a hold had been obtained over the Abyssinian nation by those who represented the faith of Christ in that country.

Shortly after Michael IV. succeeded to the Patriarchate, he was sent to Mustanzir, the Caliph of Egypt, on a mission to Abyssinia, in order to try and find out the cause of the abnormally low Nile. The Emperor met him on his arrival, and inquired the reason of his visit. The Patriarch explained his object in coming, and added that the people of Egypt were suffering terrible privations on account of the want of water. Thereupon the Emperor ordered a large enclosed ravine to be opened up, by the removal of a dam (he had diverted a considerable portion of the river out of its natural course), and immediately the Nile rose nearly ten feet in one night, and went on rising until the whole of the country had been irrigated. The Patriarch then returned to Egypt, where he was received with the highest honours, and the greatest enthusiasm.[1]

In 1102 A.D. the Metropolitan of Abyssinia[2] died, and the Patriarch Michael, in response to a request that he would consecrate a successor to the Abuna, despatched a monk named George to Axum. From his first arrival in the country, however, George commenced to enrich himself by every means in his power—receiving bribes, withholding Church money, &c.—until at last there was a popular outbreak against him. The Emperor made him refund the money he had fraudulently acquired, and sent him back to Egypt, where he was thrown into prison.

In the year 1140 A.D., during the Patriarchate of Gabriel II., an important embassy arrived in Egypt with letters to the Patriarch and to the Caliph. The object which the Emperor of Abyssinia had in view, in sending these despatches, was to urge the necessity for an increase in the number of Bishops for his country. Although, according to the Canons of Alexandria (which were applicable also to the Church of Ethiopia), it was necessary that at least

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[1] Makrizi, History of the Copts.

[2] Probably Severus, who appears to have been released from prison by the Emperor.

twelve Bishops should take part in the consecration of a Patriarch, the Metropolitan of Abyssinia had never been allowed to have more than seven suffragans (evidently to prevent the Ethiopian Church from raising its Abuna to the rank of Patriarch), and was always compelled to be consecrated by the successor of St. Mark.

Although the request of the Emperor of Abyssinia was strongly supported by the Caliph of Egypt, the Patriarch Gabriel refused to grant it, fearing that the result might be a declaration of its independence of the Church of Alexandria by the Abyssinian Church.[1] The decision was unfortunate, as it removed the possibility of a reform and development of the Church of Ethiopia which, if allowed fair play, might have enormously strengthened the position of Christianity in those far-off regions.

Mention must here be made of the famous Prester John, whose legendary existence has been ascribed to nearly every Eastern country. Who he was, and the exact signification of the title "Prester," has always been, and probably always will remain, a matter of doubt. Gibbon[2] writes: "The fame of Prester, or Presbyter, John has long amused the credulity of Europe." Friar Odoric, about 1326 A.D., identified him with the ruler of the Nestorian tribe of Kerait, but adds, "as regards him, not one hundredth part is true that is told of him, as if it were undeniable." Prester John is usually believed to have been a mighty King of Ethiopia, but it is impossible to trace his story in any of the records at the disposal of the historian.

In the year 1205 A.D. a mission arrived in Egypt from Abyssinia with a request to the Patriarch, John VI., to consecrate a new Metropolitan for that country. The embassy had been despatched by the Emperor Lalibela,

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[1] See p. 92.

[2] Decline and Fall, viii. p. 344.

whose virtues, and the piety of whose works, have secured him a place in the catalogue of Ethiopian saints. Among his numerous good deeds, he caused churches to be erected throughout his empire, many of which were cut out of the solid rock by Egyptian architects, and were so skilfully excavated as to excite the wonder and admiration of the Portuguese, when they visited the country some centuries later. The Patriarch was anxious to send a worthy man as Metropolitan, and accordingly went in person to the various Egyptian monasteries, in order that he might make the best possible selection.

In the meantime, the ambassadors became impatient of the delay, and John, in order to satisfy them, contravened the Canon which prohibited the translation of a Bishop to another See, and selected Kilus, Bishop of Fueh, who had been driven from his See by persecution. Kilus was raised to the rank of Metropolitan,[1] and sent on his way. He was welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm by the Emperor in person, together with the Bishops, most of the clergy, and a large body of troops. The umbrella, made of cloth of gold—which was one of the insignia peculiar to the Abuna—was held over him, and he entered Axum in great state. For some four years all went well. At the end of that time, Kilus returned to Egypt, and called on the Patriarch, asserting that he had been ill-treated and turned out of his office, the usurper being a brother of the Empress Mascal-Gabrit, whom he himself had consecrated Bishop. He added that attempts had been made on his life, and that, out of the hundred followers who had fled with him, all had perished, from want and ill-usage, save the two men and one female who were then accompanying him. The whole story was so remarkable that John instructed him to remain in Cairo, while a commissioner was sent to make enquiries, and report on the whole matter.

[1] According to some accounts, he was reconsecrated.

At the end of a year the commissioner returned, and brought back a very different account of what had happened. It appeared that a gold pastoral staff of great value had been stolen from the Cathedral, and that Kilus had, without producing the slightest evidence, accused the Treasurer of the crime, and had caused him to be scourged to death. The people rose against the Metropolitan in just indignation, and he forthwith fled in terror. The rest of Kilus' story was proved to be equally false, and the Emperor—who sent several trustworthy witnesses to corroborate the report of what had taken place—urged the Patriarch to appoint another Abuna.

John immediately called together a Synod of the Church, and it was unanimously decided that Kilus should be deposed, and publicly degraded, and the sentence was carried out in the presence of an enormous crowd, composed of Moslems as well as Christians. This done, a monk from the Convent of St. Anthony,[1] named Isaac, was chosen, and under this saintly prelate the work of confirming and preaching the faith of Christ progressed, the Emperor and his subjects supporting the Abuna in his work.

It would seem that, shortly after this, a number of Greek prelates from Syria had been introduced into Abyssinia, who schemed to detach the Church from its communion with the Church of Alexandria. Accordingly, in 1271 A.D., the then Emperor (whose name is not preserved) sent messengers to the Patriarch, John VII., and requested him to consecrate a Metropolitan. His letter was couched in the following terms:[2]

"I address my request to the Patriarch of Alexandria, our Father John, whom I salute with all the reverence due to the successor of Mark and Annianus.

"Listen to my words, and grant me my request. Send me a virtuous Metropolitan, who will be able to instruct

[1] In the Eastern desert by the Red Sea.

[2] Butcher's Story of the Church of Egypt, vol. ii. p. 166.

me in all things good and useful. Follow the counsel of the prophet David, who in his Psalm has addressed to you these words: 'O my son, do not leave your sheep to the fangs of the wolf.' These Syrian Metropolitans who reside in Abyssinia have only attracted our hatred. We have always belonged to the Patriarchate of Egypt; nor should we so long have suffered these strangers to exercise episcopal functions, we should have chased them from their thrones, only that they enjoyed the protection of our father, who had near him no Bishop of your choice. But now, do not permit the ruin of a kingdom which is under your charge, and send us a Metropolitan, to the end that our Lord Jesus Christ shall rain blessings upon you. Think upon St. Mark, and do not abandon us to punish us for our sins. Choose for a Metropolitan; or, if the thing does not depend on you, demand permission from the Sultan to do so. When you have granted our demand, you shall obtain all that you most desire. Do not suffer that these Syrians should any longer exercise authority in our country. For the rest, if you tell us to expel them, we will expel them. If you command us to keep them with us, we will execute your orders. You have disapproved of our conduct with regard to them; but deign to pardon our fault, that our sin may be remitted. Pardon also all our compatriots, and let your benediction repose upon us in life and death."

So great was the veneration paid by the Abyssinian Church to the Patriarch of Alexandria at this time, that his word was law. The following story is an illustration. An Egyptian merchant remitted a large sum of money to his agent at Axum, who died immediately after, and the merchant was unable to recover the amount. In response to his appeal, the Patriarch wrote to the Emperor of Abyssinia, asking him to use his influence to have the money restored to its owner. As soon as the fact was known that a letter from the Patriarch had arrived, a meeting of all the governors of the provinces was hastily convened. The messengers were sumptuously lodged and fêted. The letter

was publicly read in the Cathedral by the Abuna on the following Sunday, in the presence of the King (who stood with his head uncovered), and the provincial governors. The money was restored, and the messengers were loaded with presents, and sent on their way.

So far as can be ascertained, there are no records extant of the Church of Abyssinia from this date until the end of the fifteenth century, when the interference of the Portuguese in its ecclesiastical history commenced.

About the year 1480 A.D., a mission of exploration was despatched by John II., King of Portugal, for the purpose of discovering Abyssinia. For this expedition he selected Petro Cavilham and Alphonso Payo, who were both learned in the Arabic language. Cavilham went first to the Indies,[1] where he obtained much useful information. On his return to Egypt, he heard that Payo had succumbed to an illness before reaching his destination. Thereupon, he turned southward once more, entering Abyssinia in the year 1490 A.D., and was received with great civility by the Emperor Alexander, who, however, died shortly afterwards. His son and successor, Nahod, regarded Cavilham as a spy, and would neither allow him to leave the country, nor even to communicate with the King of Portugal.

Nahod reigned thirteen years, and was succeeded by his son David, a child. During David's minority the government was carried on by his grandmother Helena, who was favourably disposed to an alliance with a nation that was so powerful on the seas, and sent an Ambassador named Matthew (an Armenian) to negotiate, in David's name, for an alliance between the Emperor of Abyssinia and the King of Portugal, with the object of driving the Turks out of the numerous ports on the Red Sea littoral.

When David came of age, he continued to correspond with the King of Portugal; and several letters, written by him

[1] Probably the land of the Homerites, on either side of the Red Sea. See p. 149.

to Pope Clement VII., are still extant,[1] in which he asks that a Nuncio may be sent to him, "to exhilarate my heart with your blessing; for, since we agree in faith and religion, that is the very thing of the world I desire most." In another letter, he says: "If the ways were but once opened, I should then be able to correspond with the Roman Church, as well as other Christians, to whom, as to the Christian religion, I am nothing inferior; for, as they believe One right Faith, and One Church, so do I profess the same, and do most sincerely believe in the Holy Trinity, and in One God, and in the Virginity of our Lady the Virgin Mary. I do also hold all the Articles of the Christian Faith, and do keep them as they were writ by the Apostles."

It seems clear from David's letter to the King of Portugal, that his professions of concord with the Roman Church were merely the outcome of a desire for fellowship and communion with other Christians, and are not to be taken as evidence that he wished to substitute the Roman Creed for his own. It must be remembered that, for a considerable time, all communications with the Egyptian Church had been cut off, and probably David had never even heard of the Church of Alexandria, of which his own national faith was an offshoot and branch. In his letter to Emanuel, son of King John II., which was written in the year 1521 A.D., the following passage occurs: "My Father in Christ, and Friend, it is my desire that we should be of the same religion. I never had an Embassy sent to me before by any Christian King, neither was I certain that there was a Christian King anywhere beside myself, having been always encompassed with Moors, the sons of Mahomet, and with heathens and slaves, who do not acknowledge God, and with some who worship wood and fire, and with others that worship serpents as gods; with whom I have never lived well, because, though the faith has been preached to them, they

[1] Translations of these may be found in Geddes' Church History of Ethiopia, pp. 64-78.

refuse to come to the Truth." Hence, it may be concluded that, while the King of Abyssinia undoubtedly encouraged the Portuguese to believe that they would have an easy task in bringing that country under the spiritual dominion of the Holy See, they failed to understand the motives and sentiments which underlay the action of the young monarch.

However that may be, the fact is clear that when Mark, the reigning Abuna, became too infirm to manage the affairs of the Church, he was persuaded by David, at the instance of the King's new European friends, to consecrate as his successor a Portuguese layman, named Joas Bermudez. Immediately afterwards, Bermudez was sent on a special mission to Rome and Lisbon, in order to enlist for King David the practical support of those Courts—by sending a large force to aid him against Granhe, a powerful Mohammedan prince with whom he was at war—and to secure the Papal ratification of the new Abuna's appointment. Bermudez arrived at Rome in the year 1538 A.D., and was graciously received by Pope Paul III., who accepted his episcopal orders as valid,[1] notwithstanding the fact that his consecration was uncanonical, only one Bishop (Mark) having laid hands on him.

Having visited Lisbon, where he was not able to accomplish anything definite, Bermudez returned to Abyssinia, to find that David (who had reigned thirty-six years) was dead, and that the country was harassed by wars on every hand. Moreover, the new Emperor Claudius (a son of David) was a staunch member of the National Church, and strongly resented any attempt to bring it into subjection to Rome. Bermudez lost no opportunity of urging Claudius to change his views, and brought every possible pressure to bear, through the Portuguese residents in the country, to

[1] In The Story of the Church of Egypt, vol. ii. p. 244, it is stated that Bermudez was consecrated by the Pope, who appointed him Patriarch of Alexandria—an appointment which was ignored by both the Coptic and the Greek Churches in Egypt.

induce the King to favour the Roman faith. The Emperor was so indignant, that he wrote to the Patriarch of Alexandria, Gabriel VII., asking him to consecrate and send an Abuna. This was accordingly done, and the new Metropolitan, Joseph by name, was received by Claudius and his people with every manifestation of joy.

The resistance offered to this course by Bermudez and his compatriots in Abyssinia was so strong, that at length Bermudez was arrested, and, after being kept in captivity for some months in one of the mountain fastnesses, was sent, by way of Goa, back to Lisbon.

The Roman Church, however, was by no means willing to relinquish such an important field of work without a further struggle. In 1558 A.D. St. Ignatius Loyola was at Rome, where he was busily engaged in founding the Society of Jesuits. He implored the Pope to send him to Abyssinia, but, for whatever cause, this request was not granted. He succeeded, however, in obtaining the consecration of Nunes Baretto as Patriarch in place of Bermudez, and of two other suffragan Bishops, Andrew Oviado and Melchior Carneiro. The three sailed to Goa, where Baretto and Melchior remained, Andrew proceeding to Abyssinia. The Emperor Claudius received him with kindness and some ceremony, but made it perfectly clear that he had no intention of submitting to the jurisdiction of the See of Rome. His reply to the Bishop's earnest entreaties was, that the Ethiopic Church had from the beginning been subject to the chair of St. Mark at Alexandria, and that he was so fully satisfied of the justice of that obedience, that nothing in the world should make him throw it off.

In order to justify the Abyssinian Church from the charge of heresy, which had been brought forward by the Bishop, the Emperor produced, and read aloud, the following Confession of Faith,[1] which he had prepared and published:

"In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,

[1] Geddes' Church History of Ethiopia, pp. 185, 186.

One God. This is my Faith, and the Faith of my fathers the Kings of Israel, and the Faith of my flock, which is within the bounds of my Empire. We believe in One God, and in His only Son Jesus Christ, Who is His Word, Power, Council, Wisdom, and Who was with Him before the world was created; and Who in the last days visited us, and, without leaving the Throne of His Divinity, was made Man by the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin Mary; and Who, when He was thirty years of age, was baptized in Jordan; and, being a perfect Man, was, in the days of Pontius Pilate, crucified, and was dead and buried, and rose again the third day; and, on the fortieth day after His Resurrection, did ascend with glory into the heavens, where he sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again in glory to judge both the quick and the dead, Whose Kingdom shall have no end.

"We believe also in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father. We believe one baptism for the remission of sins, and do hope for the resurrection of the dead to the life to come, which is everlasting. Amen.

"We do walk in the plain and true way, declining neither to the right nor to the left from the doctrine of our Fathers, the twelve Apostles, and of Paul the fountain of wisdom, and of the seventy-two disciples, and of the three hundred and eighteen orthodox assembled at Nice, and of the hundred and fifty at Constantinople, and of the hundred at Ephesus."

The pertinacity of the Bishop was so great that he persuaded the Emperor to hold a conference, in which the latter defended his position with great skill and learning. A warfare of pamphlets and treatises followed; and, at last, when the Bishop discovered that his utmost efforts had merely resulted in strengthening the belief of the Emperor in his own faith, he promulgated a sentence of excommunication on the members of the Abyssinian Church, dated Feb. 2nd, 1559. This, however, did not produce the slightest effect.

Shortly afterwards, the kingdom of Ethiopia was attacked by Nur, the King of Adel, who invaded the country, and plundered all the richest provinces and districts. In the battle in which Nur gained the victory, Claudius was slain, and was succeeded by his brother Adam, who, from the day when he came to the throne, declared himself an irreconcilable enemy of the Church of Rome. He caused the Bishop (Andrew) to be cast into prison, and even threatened him with death unless he would promise to give up attempting to teach Roman doctrines. Shortly afterwards the Emperor was engaged in a war with the Moslems, who had been instigated by the Portuguese to take up arms against him, and lost his life. His son, Malac Sagued, succeeded him, and—probably in consequence of the frequent strife with the neighbouring races, which marked his thirty years' reign—left the Jesuits alone.

In December, 1562, Baretto, who had been consecrated as Patriarch of Ethiopia, but had never entered the country, died at Goa; whereupon Bishop Andrew declared himself Patriarch. Piqued at the utter failure of his mission, the Bishop wrote urgent entreaties to the General of the Jesuits (in 1566), imploring that troops might be sent to him, stating that "there was one thing he and the fathers were all agreed in, which was that nothing but a good body of Portuguese soldiers would ever be able to reduce Ethiopia to the obedience of the Roman Church."

The story of the mission having been told to the Pope, Pius V., by the Portuguese Cardinal Don Henry (to whom these applications for troops had been forwarded), His Holiness decided to recall the Patriarch and his companion, and to send them somewhere else, "where," as the matter is quaintly put, "they might do more good, and make less noise." The letter of recall was dated February 1st, 1567. It commanded Andrew to sail for China and Japan, where he was to undertake missionary work, but a few months later he died at Fremona.

Thus ended the first Portuguese Mission to the Abyssinian Church, which was not only absolutely fruitless, so far as the extension of the Roman Church was concerned, but brought dissensions and calamities upon the Ethiopians, from which they never entirely recovered.

At the time of the death of Andrew, only three Jesuit priests (out of the five who accompanied him to Abyssinia) survived. Of these, Manuel Fernandez died at Fremona in 1583, Antony Fernandez in 1593, and Francis Lopez in 1597. But, during these years, several attempts were made by the Jesuits to revive their mission in Ethiopia. In 1588 A.D. two Spaniards, Pedro Paez and Anthony de Monserrato, were sent into the country disguised as Turks, but, before they could arrive at their destination, they were shipwrecked on the coast of Arabia; and when it was discovered that they were Christian priests, they were seized, and kept as slaves for seven years.

Shortly afterwards—as soon as the news of their capture reached the ears of the Superior of the Jesuits at Goa—a Maronite Jesuit, named Abraham, was despatched. But when he reached Massowah, he was put to death by the Governor, who was a Moslem pervert from Christianity. The same fate befell John Baptista, a Bishop who had been consecrated by Pope Gregory XIII., and sent by him on a mission to the Patriarch, John XIV., of Alexandria, to endeavour to persuade him to give his submission to the Roman Church. Pope Sixtus V. commissioned him to undertake the same task with the Patriarch Gabriel VIII., but the one attempt was as unsuccessful as the other.

In 1597 A.D. Dom Alexo de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, sent one of his clergy, de Sylva by name, who was a converted Brahmin, into Ethiopia, and he succeeded, after many difficulties, in reaching his destination. The Archbishop followed up his emissary by a letter to the Abuna of Abyssinia, exhorting him to submit himself and his Church to

the Pope of Rome, adding, as an argument in favour of the course suggested, not merely a large present, but an assurance that the Patriarch of Alexandria had acknowledged the supremacy of Pope Clement VIII. This was an absolute fiction, as neither Gabriel VIII., who is credited with the submission, nor Marcus V., who was Patriarch at the time, ever gave the slightest ground for the circulation of such a rumour.

In 1604 A.D., Pedro Paez, having obtained his freedom, joined de Sylva at Fremona, and at once offered his services to the Emperor Jacob, who was a natural son of the late ruler, Malac Sagued. Almost immediately afterwards, however, a revolution broke out, and Jacob was deposed in favour of Za Denghel, a nephew of the last Emperor. Pedro soon ingratiated himself into the favour of Za Denghel, and of the most powerful persons at Court; and before long, the Emperor assured him that, "being now fully convinced that the Pope is the Head and universal pastor of the Church, I am resolved to submit myself to him, and to desire him to send a Patriarch, with a competent number of friars, into Ethiopia, to instruct my people in the true faith." This action so roused the indignation of the people, that the country was again plunged into civil war. Za Denghel was slain, and then followed a contest as to the appointment of his successor. One party were in favour of reinstating Jacob, while others sided with Socinios, a grandson of the Emperor David. For a time the fortunes of the latter prospered, but before long the army declared for Jacob, and Socinios retired to the mountains. Eventually, however, the opposing forces becoming sufficiently nearly matched in point of numbers, the two claimants for the throne met in battle, and Jacob, together with the Abuna, whom he had taken with him to excommunicate the enemy, was killed.

As soon as Socinios, who took the name of Seltem Sagued, was established in power, he sent for Pedro Paez, of whose

piety, learning, and elouquence he had heard so much, to come to his Court. They conversed frequently on religious matters, discussing in particular the points of difference between the Abyssinian and Roman Churches.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate experiences of Za Denghel, Seltem Sagued was so fully convinced by the arguments put forward by Pedro Paez as to the soundness of the Roman position, and so much impressed by the action of his brother, Ras Cella Christos, in publicly declaring himself a Roman Catholic, that, in 1613 A.D., he wrote to Pope Paul V., professing his readiness to submit to the supremacy of the successor of St. Peter, if the King of Portugal would send some troops to aid him in enforcing his views on his subjects.

When the Abyssinians began to realise the policy of the Emperor, they were loud in expressing their resentment at what they regarded as his treachery, and this was not lessened by the fact that various public conferences were held, at which the Abuna, Simon, was present, when the Jesuits undoubtedly proved the most skilful controversialists. Matters went on from bad to worse, until the people rose against Sagued, their leader being his son-in-law Julius, Viceroy of Tigre. They fought with great determination, but the Emperor's army was too strong, and Julius, as well as the aged Abuna, who accompanied him to the field of battle, was killed.

Sagued followed up his victory by issuing a proclamation, not only prohibiting his subjects, under severe penalties, from observing Saturday as their Sabbath (this was one of the customs they had inherited from their ancient Jewish influences, to which reference has been made above), but even compelling them to work on Saturdays. This immediately caused a fresh rebellion, which was put down with equal severity. Thereupon the Emperor publicly and formally announced his reconciliation to the Church of Rome,

and "abjured all the Alexandrian errors." A few days afterwards, Pedro Paez died (1623 A.D.), and was much lamented by Sagued and his brother. Of his personal piety there is abundant evidence. But, whatever allowance may be made for a man who desires others to share the benefits of a belief in the truths which he himself holds, it is impossible to withhold from Paez the strongest censure, for having been the cause of plunging the country, that had extended its hospitality to him for nearly a quarter of a century, into the agonies of a bitter civil war.

The next step taken by the Emperor was to issue a manifesto, in which he attacked the Egyptian Church on the score of the Monophysite heresy, and slandered the characters of some of the ablest and holiest of the Abunas of the Ethiopian Church (imputing to them every kind of crime and misdemeanour), concluding with an appeal to his subjects to yield obedience to the Bishop of Rome. This document produced no effect. It did not induce a single member of the native Church to follow the example of Sagued, and it did not incite the people to rebellion, because they had learned, by cruel experience, the futility of such a course.

In the year 1624 A.D., Alphonso Mendez was consecrated at Lisbon, with the approval of the Pope, to be Patriarch of Ethiopia, and James Seco and John da Rocha were consecrated as his coadjutors. All three were Jesuits. They arrived at Goa in the autumn, where Mendez received letters of welcome from the Emperor and his brother. Soon after his arrival at the Court, he was invited to preach; and at the conclusion of his sermon, Sagued, taking the book of the Gospels in his hand, knelt before him, and made his submission to the Church of Rome in the following words:[1]

"We, Seltem Sagued, Emperor of Ethiopia, do believe

[1] Geddes' Church History of Ethiopia, p. 342.

and confess that St. Peter was constituted Prince of the Apostles by our Lord Jesus Christ, as also head of the whole Christian Church, Christ having given him a principality and dominion over the whole world, when He said unto him, 'Thou art Peter;' and when at another time He commanded him to feed His sheep. We do also believe and confess that the Pope of Rome, being lawfully elected, is the true successor of the Apostle St. Peter in that government, having the same power, dignity, and primacy over the whole Christian Church. And to the Holy Father, Urban VIII., who is, by the grace of God, Pope at this time, and our Lord, and to his successors in the government of the Church, we do promise, offer, and swear, true obedience and subjection, with all humility, at his feet, for our own person and empire. So help us God, and this holy Gospel."

As soon as the Emperor had concluded, the Princes, Viceroys, and ecclesiastics of the Court knelt in turn, and made the following oath: "I do promise, offer, and swear the same. So help me God, and these Holy Gospels." The Patriarch then pronounced sentence of excommunication on those who should at any future time violate these oaths, and a further proclamation was issued, prohibiting all Abyssinian priests from exercising their sacred office before they had presented themselves to the Patriarch, and commanding all subjects of the realm, under pain of death, to embrace Romanism.

The next act of the Emperor's was to endow the Patriarch Mendez, not only with the lands belonging to the Abuna, but with several rich estates, and to found a missionary College for sixty students. Mendez now looked upon the allegiance of the Abyssinian nation to the Papal See as practically assured. In fact, in a letter he wrote to Portugal about this time, he used these words: "I speak within compass when I say that a hundred thousand have been converted within a year to the Church of Rome." Con-

sidering that the opposition shown to the Emperor's action by the people was no less strong than when they rose in rebellion a few years before, we may well regard this statement as a gross exaggeration. So violent was the feeling against the Romanists, that two of the Patriarch's missionaries, who insisted on saying Mass in one of the Abyssinian churches at Tigre, were murdered the same night.

Accordingly, it was not long before a fresh rebellion broke out, headed by Teckla Guergis, who was married to a daughter of the Emperor. Guergis had succeeded his brother-in-law Julius as Viceroy of Tigre, and had been a staunch and consistent upholder of the national faith. The revolt, however, was quickly suppressed, and Guergis was hanged. A violent persecution was then set on foot against those who remained faithful to the Abyssinian Church. They were forced to flee, and hide themselves in caves, whither they were relentlessly tracked, and were either dragged out and burned as heretics, or suffocated in their mountain retreats.

Instead of strengthening the position of Romanism in the country, these repressive measures had a contrary effect. Jealousies again arose between the Emperor and his brother, which were increased when the latter, who had formerly been the most bigoted Papist of the two, threw in his lot with those who were fighting for the defence of the Abyssinian Church. The Patriarch Mendez, by several acts of cruelty and injustice, brought discredit on the faith of which he was the representative; so that the Emperor was at last persuaded to grant a toleration, allowing his subjects freedom in religious matters. The Patriarch vehemently opposed such a step, and the opportune arrival of a letter to Sagued, written by Pope Urban VIII., in 1672 A.D., revived the Emperor's zeal for Romanism.

Once more a revolution, headed by the Viceroy of Gojam, broke out, and, although it was subdued by the valour of Basilides, the Emperor's son—who, notwithstanding the

fact that he was a staunch member of the National Church, was loyal in his support of his father against the rebels—the Emperor was defeated by a rising of the peasants of Lasta. He then repeated his determination to grant a toleration in religious matters to his subjects, which was accordingly done, to the unspeakable joy of the people.

This concession, however, was not sufficient to restore peace, as long as so powerful and indefatigable a Romanist as the Patriarch Mendez remained in authority. But the limit of endurance was soon to be reached. When the Emperor, after a further victory over his own people, stood on the battlefield surveying the awful carnage, his wife, his son, and other members of the Court remonstrated with him, and Basilides thus addressed him: "This is not a success against Mohammedans or pagans, but against men of our own flesh and blood, fellow-subjects, fellow-Christians. By thus destroying ourselves we are putting a sword into the hands of our enemies. They will not want to slay us; they will leave the work of extermination to ourselves."

Thereupon, Sagued called a council together, to consider the state of the Empire, and to deliberate upon the means to be adopted for securing peace. A unanimous decision was arrived at, that this could only be done "by restoring all the Alexandrian rites and customs, and by leaving people to their liberty, to be of which of the two religions they pleased."

The Patriarch was greatly perturbed at the course which events were taking, and, on June 20, 1632 A.D., he waited on the Emperor, and, with all the eloquence at his command, besought him to stand firm in his allegiance to Rome. But the earnest entreaties of the representatives of the nation prevailed, and the following proclamation was issued:

"Hear, hear. We formerly gave you the Roman faith, believing it to be true. But innumerable multitudes of my people having been slain upon that account, under the command of Julius, Guergis, Cerca Christos, &c., as

now also among the peasants. . . . We do therefore restore the religion of your fathers to you, so that your priests are to take possession of their churches again, and to officiate therein as formerly."

This manifesto was received with the wildest enthusiasm, and the people shouted on all sides, "God bless the Emperor, and let the Alexandrian faith flourish." The unanimity with which the change of policy was received, conclusively proves that Romanism had never taken hold upon the Abyssinian nation, but had been as truly forced upon them by their own rulers as Mohammedanism had been, a thousand years before, upon those whom Mahomet conquered. Not content with their victory, the Abyssinians followed it up by insisting that the Patriarch and the Jesuit priests should restore the churches and lands which had been given them, and by securing the promulgation of a further edict, commanding all the people of Ethiopia to be of the Alexandrian, and of no other, faith.

In September of the same year (1632 A.D.) the Emperor died, at the age of sixty, and was buried according to the rites of the Abyssinian Church. He was succeeded by Basilides, whose first act was to order the Patriarch and his companions to deliver up their arms and weapons, and to retire to Fremona. Mendez demurred, and wrote a long letter to the Emperor, protesting, in very courteous terms, against the indignity which such a course would bring upon him, and requesting that he might be permitted to meet, and dispute with, the learned ecclesiastics and doctors of the Abyssinian Church, and that the fate of Romanism in the country should be decided by the result of these controversial exercises.

Basilides replied in a very able and dignified letter. He recalled the long years of civil war which had existed ever since the Patriarch came to Ethiopia; he pointed out how the people had always bitterly resented the denial of the cup to the laity in the Holy Communion, the rebaptism of

those baptized into the Abyssinian Church, and the non-recognition of Abyssinian orders—all of which slights on the national religion had been rigidly enforced by the Patriarch and the other Jesuits. The letter concluded by reproaching Mendez for the cruelties and persecutions inflicted by him upon the people when he was in power; and by stating that, as an Alexandrian Abuna was already on his way to Axum, and had declined to be in the same country with a Roman Patriarch, it was necessary that Mendez should repair to Fremona without delay. On the eve of his departure, Mendez forwarded a long manifesto to the Emperor, in which he threatened excommunication against any who should attempt to enforce the Abyssinian faith upon the Portuguese Romanists that were settled in the country.

The Patriarch and his companions, instead of leaving Ethiopia quietly, intrigued with one of the grandees (who was in rebellion against the Emperor), under promise that they would obtain the assistance of some Portuguese troops, and enable him to defeat Basilides. But, after waiting a long time, and finding no prospect of reinforcements arriving, he sold them into the hands of the Turks at Massowah, who robbed them of all they possessed, and demanded a heavy ransom as the price of their release. This having been raised and paid, they were sent on to Souakim, where a similar fate awaited them. At length the Patriarch managed to reach Goa with two of his companions, in 1636 A.D. Four of the Jesuits, having returned to Ethiopia, were arrested for treason, and banished; but, before they could escape from the country, they were seized by the mob and hanged.

After various attempts to revive the waning influence of Romanism in Abyssinia, by despatching missions to the Court, and vainly endeavouring to obtain an army from Portugal, which might assist him to enforce his views on the people who had rejected him, the Patriarch Mendez was, in 1656

A.D., nominated by the King of Portugal to the Archbishopric of Goa. But before the nomination could reach him, he died, at the age of seventy-six, having been the cause of the utmost misery and suffering to Abyssinia, which he had vainly striven to bring under the dominion of the Papacy.

A few ineffectual attempts were subsequently made by Capucin monks to obtain a footing in Abyssinia, but in every case they were murdered long before they could reach Axum, thus shewing that the rejection of the Roman faith was a conviction with the people, who had never been persuaded to tolerate it.

When at last he had freed Ethiopia from the machinations of the Roman emissaries, Basilides set to work to recover the provinces which had fallen into the hands of his heathen neighbours during the long period of civil war, and was so successful that he extended his kingdom northward as far as Nubia. He also made treaties with the Turks, by which they undertook to prevent missionaries penetrating into Abyssinia.

Basilides died, after reigning thirty-two years, in 1665 A.D., and was succeeded by his son, Alaf Sagued, who held the throne for fifteen years. Just before his death, he applied to the Patriarch of Alexandria, John XVI., to consecrate and send an Abuna, to take the place of Christodoulos (who had come to Abyssinia on the expulsion of the Roman Patriarch, Mendez). John sent Shenouda, who appears to have been irregularly consecrated, and was deposed, shortly after Alaf died, by the new Emperor, Adam Sagued. It was during his reign that the Abuna Marcus was appointed, but, owing to various delays, his consecration did not take place until 1692 A.D.

In 1704 A.D., the Jesuits persuaded Louis XIV. of France to send a physician, named Du Roule, into Abyssinia, to

prepare the way for another Roman mission to that country. He arrived at Senaar[1] the following year, and was detained some months by the King, while he sent a messenger to Axum to ascertain the Emperor's wishes on the subject. Before the reply was received, Du Roule had been murdered at Senaar.

A letter from the Emperor, Thecklamanout, son of Adam Sagued, is extant,[2] in which he tells Du Roule that he is writing to the Sultan Badi, instructing him to allow the traveller to proceed. The letter goes on to say that, "there exists betwixt you and us the same faith and the same religion. . . . . We love to enter into the bonds of friendship and union, and into reciprocal intercourse, with all, save only those who profess dogmas, and recognise laws, contrary to our own, such as Joseph[3] and those of his society, whom we instantly drove out from among us. Such people we will not admit into our country; they may not pass beyond Senaar, that they shall not be able to excite dissensions and disorders among us. For you—you are permitted to come to us, and are hereby assured of a favourable and gracious reception."

This letter, as stated above, arrived after the person to whom it was addressed had been put to death. The French Consul at Cairo, who was naturally indignant at this treatment of Du Roule, was determined to take some action in the matter, and finally decided, after calling a meeting of his compatriots, to require all Frenchmen residing in Egypt to dismiss every Nubian, or other subject of the King of Senaar, from their service within three days, and never to employ such again, under a penalty of 7500 francs. This

[1] The Kingdom of Senaar was one of those semi-independent states, between Egypt and Abyssinia (corresponding to Nubia), of which the ruler was a Mohammedan, although it included a number of Christians.

[2] See M. de Sacy's "Chrestomathie Arabe."

[3] The Joseph here mentioned was a Jesuit, Father Brénedent, who came on a mission to Abyssinia, in 1699, in company with M. Poncet, but died shortly before reaching Gondar.

prohibition—which hardly affected the Nubian ruler, but greatly inconvenienced the Frenchmen in Egypt—remained in force for nearly a century.

On the death of Christodoulos, in 1743 A.D., the King of Abyssinia sent an embassy to the Patriarch of Alexandria (John XVII.) asking him to consecrate a new Abuna. The messengers were seized and imprisoned by the Mohammedans at Massowah, but eventually one of them escaped and made his way to Cairo. The new Abuna set out in 1745 A.D., and shared the same fate, but at length succeeded in reaching Abyssinia.

About a quarter of a century later, the distinguished traveller, Bruce, penetrated into Abyssinia, a full account of his journey and discoveries being given in his "Travels." He received much kindness and assistance from the authorities of the Ethiopian Church, owing to the letters of recommendation furnished by the Coptic Patriarch, Mark VII.; but, by a confusion of ideas which seems almost incredible, he attributed to the Orthodox Greek Church the courtesy he received, being apparently unaware of the existence of the Coptic Church.

So far as we can learn from the scanty records at our disposal, the Abyssinian Church began to be tainted, about this time, with certain doctrines that were not in accordance with their national faith. This was, in all probability, due to the activity of the Portuguese Jesuits, who had never forgotten the failure of their mission in the seventeenth century. We have no means of ascertaining the special points on which errors were allowed to creep in, but the fact is recorded in the Coptic biographical sketch of the Patriarch, Mark VII. It runs:

> "He consecrated many bishops. And when the Metropolitan of Abyssinia died, and certain monks and priests came with a letter from the King asking for a Metropolitan, Marcus consecrated for him one who went with

the Abyssinian priests, and also sent to them books of sermons and of doctrines, because he had heard that certain of them had become heretics."

In the year 1809 A.D. Mr. Salt, who was Consul-General in Egypt, entered Abyssinia on a mission of exploration on behalf of the British Government, and in his report he made an urgent recommendation to the Protestants of Great Britain to send missionaries to the Abyssinian Church, which he described as having been reduced to a low ebb of spirituality.

Accordingly, the Church Missionary Society despatched, in 1825 A.D., five clergy to undertake work in Egypt. Of these, Gobat (afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem) and Kugler made their way, the following year, into Abyssinia, where, in 1830 A.D., they established a Mission, which lasted eight years. They were joined by Isenberg and Krapf (the latter arriving in 1837 A.D.), but they were not able to accomplish much beyond circulating translations of the Scriptures in the Amharic vernacular. In 1838 A.D. the Mission was expelled, through the influence of two French Roman Catholic priests, who persuaded the Prince of Tigre that they were more in accord with Abyssinian Christianity than the members of the C.M.S.

Krapf afterwards spent three years in Shoa, a district lying to the south of Abyssinia, but in 1842 A.D. he was again turned out through Roman influence. He then went further South to Galla Land, where he founded what afterwards became the East Africa Mission. In 1855 A.D. he revisited Abyssinia, for the purpose of placing there the Industrial Mission planned by Bishop Gobat; and in later years he established and directed the remarkable "Pilgrim Mission," which was intended to form a "chain of missions" through Africa, with twelve stations, including Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia. Several were actually started, but they were gradually abandoned owing to lack of funds.

In 1849 A.D. the Roman Catholics were, as they had been two hundred years before, expelled from Abyssinia, and for the last half century there is little to record about the Church of that country. Although there have been numerous political missions during that period, the information brought to us, of the ecclesiastical condition of the kingdom ruled over by Menelik, is very scanty.

Doctrines and Customs.

A few words may be added, in conclusion, respecting the *doctrines* and *customs* of the Abyssinian Church.

1. *Doctrine.* It will have been gathered, from the above brief historical sketch, that, while retaining a certain leaven of Judaism in their ritual and worship, the Abyssinians are a Christian race, whose faith is practically identical with that of the Coptic Church.

There are traces of a very early version of the Old Testament in the Ethiopic language. Tradition states that Frumentius translated it from the Arabic in the fourth century, but internal evidence proves that it was from the Septuagint, and not from the Arabic, that this version was made. The "Canon" of the Old Testament includes the Apocryphal books.

In addition to the Scriptures, and in close association with the New Testament, the Abyssinian Church has a collection of Canons, headed by a peculiar form of the Apostolic Canons, which appears to have been first translated into Arabic, and then into Ethiopic. One copy of this Codex is still extant in Abyssinia, and two copies are in the Vatican Library.[1]

2. *Liturgy.* There are many forms of the Ethiopic

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[1] Ludolf examined one of these in the year 1649 A.D.

Liturgy referred to by Ludolf. The one generally in use, called the Liturgy of All Apostles, is an amplification of that of St. Cyril. Of the nine others, that of "Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" contains invocations of Apostles, of the Mother of God, and of patriarchs and martyrs, in "the prayer of the deacon;" and, in the prayer following the words of institution, there is a petition that the bread and the cup may become the Body and Blood of the Lord. The remaining Liturgies are of St. Mary, of Dioscorus, of the Fathers of Nicæa, of St. Epiphanius, of St. James of Serug, of St. John Chrysostom, and of St. Gregory.[1]

3. *Sacraments.* The term "mystery" is applied equally to Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. Confirmation, and anointing of the sick, are not among the customary religious rites, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation is not consciously held.

Baptism is administered to adults by the entire immersion of the body three times, women being set apart to attend on the women candidates. Immediately after the ceremony, the baptized persons are clothed in red robes, and fed with milk and honey. Infants are baptized by aspersion (males on the fortieth, females on the eightieth, day after birth), and receive the Holy Communion immediately afterwards.

The *Holy Eucharist* is celebrated with leavened bread, signed with the cross, except on the fifth day in Passion week, when unleavened bread is used; and the wine is mixed with water. The Communion is administered in both kinds to the people, but never in a private house, not even to the King or the Metropolitan.

4. *Marriage.* The marriage rites are in some degree repulsive, and savour strongly of a mixture of Judaism and barbarism. Polygamy is allowed by the civil law, but condemned by ecclesiastical law; so that kings and magistrates may have many wives, but bishops and clergy are limited

[1] cf. Neale's Introd. to Holy Eastern Church, vol. i. p. 324.

to one, and are forbidden to marry a second time. The Levirate marriage[1] is permitted by the State.

5. *Burial of the dead.* The funeral rites are of an excited and emotional character, in an even greater degree than among the Copts. "Dancing," says Dean Stanley,[2] "still forms part of their ritual, as it did in the Jewish temple."

6. *Fasting.* The fasts practised among the Ethiopians are both severe and frequent. The great fast of forty days follows immediately after the wild nocturnal "baptism" of the Epiphany. This curious and indecent custom is held in commemoration of our Lord's baptism. In the evening the entire population of each district, men, women, and children, plunge into the same stream in a state of absolute nudity, the scene being illuminated by torchlight. This practice led the Jesuits to accuse the Abyssinians of the heresy of an annual repetition of Baptism.

7. *Festivals.* The Ethiopian Festivals are held in honour of the Conception, Nativity, Circumcision, Baptism, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord, and of the return of Christ at Pentecost. In the midst of Pentecost is a feast called *Rakeb*, in which the Bishops hold synods of their clergy for the settlement of doctrinal difficulties or ecclesiastical disputes.[3]

8. *Calendar.* In the Ethiopian Calendar five or six saints are daily celebrated. Our Lord's Nativity is commemorated twelve times a year, on one day during the last week of each month. Michael the Archangel occurs about the tenth or twelfth, St. Mary on or about the twentieth, and Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, on or near the twenty-eighth, of every month. Though nearly every Coptic Patriarch is reckoned among the saints, not a single Abuna of the Abyssinian Church appears as such.

9. *Legends.* Some of these are very quaint and im-

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[1] Deut. xxv. 5. [2] Eastern Church, p. 11.
[3] cf. Apostol. Const. 38.

probable. Naak-weto-Laah, Emperor of Ethiopia, is said to have never died; Eusebius was taken by the Archangel Suriel to heaven, where he remained seven years; Aaron, when sick, caused roasted pigeons to fly into his mouth; Batatzun, by repeated fastings, made himself as light as air; and John extracted a serpent from the womb of a princess.

10. *Population.* It is impossible, even approximately, to state the number of Christians belonging to the Abyssinian Church, but they may be put down as between three and four millions. So far as they are able, they support their clergy with offerings, but the latter are poorly paid, and are often compelled to supplement their stipends by the products of manual labour.

List of the Metropolitans of Abyssinia.[1]

1. Frumentius (consecrated by Athanasius, circa 330 A.D.)
2. Cosmas.
3. Alexander.
4. Bartholomew.
5. John.
6. Jacob.
7. ...
8. Cyril.
9. John (contemporary of Joseph (? Jacob), Patriarch of Alexandria, in 821 A.D.)
10. Peter (appointed by Cosmas III., Patriarch of Alexandria, in 920 (? 921) A.D.)

    [Note.—Peter's chaplain, who succeeded him, and possibly one or more Abunas, whose names have not been preserved, held office before Daniel.]
11. Daniel (contemporary of Philotheus, Patriarch of Alexandria. Became Abuna in 995 A.D.)

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[1] This list is based upon Le Quien, in his Oriens Christianus (Paris 1740, vol. ii. pp. 643-660), but it is hopelessly inaccurate and incomplete. The failure of the author's attempt to secure an authentic list, with dates, of the Abyssinian Abunas, is described in the Preface.

12. Cyril.
13. Severus.
14. Georgius (contemporary of Macarius II., Patriarch of Alexandria, in 1102 A.D.)
15. Michael (contemporary of Gabriel II., Patriarch of Alexandria, in 1130 (? 1131) A.D.)
16. Kilus (Bishop of Fueh in Egypt—was uncanonically translated to Axum in 1209 A.D.)
17. Isaac (ordained in 1454 (? 1214)) A.D.)
18. Michael II.
19. Matthew.
20. Salama.
21. Jacob.
22. Bartholomew.
23. Michael III.
24. Isaac.
25. John.
26. Mark (he consecrated Bermudez in 1538 A.D.)
27. Josephus.
28. Peter II.
29. Simeon (died about 1620 A.D.)
30. ? (this was probably Christodoulos).
31. Mark II.
32. John.
33. Mark III.
34. Michael IV. (about 1651 A.D.)
35. Gabraxus (about 1662 A.D.)
36. Senodius (or Sanubius) (consecrated by Matthew IV., Patriarch of Alexandria, in 1670 A.D.)
37. Mark IV. (about 1698 or 1700 A.D.)
38. ?
39. Abdelmessiah (1720 A.D.)
40. Christodoulos (1730 A.D.)

BOOK II.

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND MISSIONS IN EGYPT.

"*There shall be an Altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt.*"—Isa. xix. 19.

CHAPTER I.

The Coptic Church.

The title, Coptic Church, is generally used to designate the branch of the Catholic Church which claims to be the direct descendant, and the true representative, of the Church founded by the Evangelist St. Mark. For this reason it is commonly spoken of as the Church of Egypt, and sometimes, to distinguish it from the Greek or Melchite[1] Church, the Jacobite[2] Church.

The history of this Church has been traced in the preceding pages, from the days of the Apostles to the present time. But, although its existence has been so closely bound up with the vicissitudes of the country, and although it has preserved the light of the Christian faith for thirteen centuries (in spite of incredible oppression and persecutions) in the midst of its Mohammedan conquerors, there has, until comparatively recent years, been an extraordinary ignorance, on the part of Englishmen in general, as to its story, its ritual, and its customs. This lack of information has been rectified by such scholarly works as Butler's "Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt," and by Mrs. Butcher's "The Story of the Church of Egypt;" but there are many who have neither the time nor the inclination to study the question so fully as the perusal of these volumes would necessitate.

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[1] This term was used, after the Arab conquest of Egypt, to describe the remnant of the Byzantine Church which remained in the country. It is sometimes employed to designate those Christians who accepted the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, which deposed the Patriarch Dioscorus, between whom and the Coptic Church there were constant dissensions until the annexation of Egypt by Amr.

[2] A nickname given to the Monophysite (Coptic) Church, after the name of their great missionary bishop, Jacobus Baradæus (A.D. 541).

It is proposed, therefore, to give, as concisely as possible, a brief description of the various organizations and machinery of the Coptic Church. The subjects will be divided, for convenience, into the following: (A) Churches; (B) Schools; (C) Liturgies and Worship; (D) Ecclesiastical Vestments; (E) Articles of Belief; and (F) Political status and disabilities. A list of the Coptic Patriarchs (G)—from St. Mark to the present day—is added,[1] and also a tabular statement of the Bishops now occupying the Sees of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, with the number of churches, and number of priests employed, in each diocese.[2]

(A) The Coptic Churches.

1. *The Cathedral of Cairo.*

The first of importance, though of recent date, is the *Cathedral*, which stands within the precincts of the Patriarchate. It was built by Cyril IV., generally known as Cyril "the Reformer," on the site of the church which had been erected (mainly by the liberality of a layman) in the reign of Mark VIII., at the commencement of the nineteenth century, when the Coptic quarter of Cairo was destroyed by the Turks in 1802. The structure is devoid of interest and of beauty, the main attraction being a superb ancient lectern, richly inlaid with crosses and other designs of chased ivory, which originally belonged to the Church of Al-Muallakah.

According to Butler[3] the predominant type of Christian architecture in Egypt is basilican. "The germ of the Christian basilica was a simple oblong aisle-less room divided by a cross arch, beyond which lay an altar detached from the wall. This germ was developed by the addition of side-aisles, and sometimes, an aisle returned across the entrance end; over these, upper aisles were next constructed, and

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[1] See p. 218. [2] See p. 220.
[3] Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, vol. i. p. 3.

transepts added, together with small oratories or chapels in various parts of the building."

The following is a general plan of the structure of the Coptic churches. The entrance is usually at the side, and, as far as possible, concealed. Passing through a court or passage-room, the worshipper arrives at the narthex,[1] or vestibule, in which stands the Epiphany tank. This is a large, rectangular basin, blessed at the Feast of the Epiphany, and probably used for ablutions, especially for washing the dust off the feet. Separated from the narthex by a screen is the western portion of the nave, forming the women's section, in which is a smaller tank corresponding to our baptismal font. The eastern part of this division is screened off, and contains the Patriarch's chair. Eastward, beyond a carved screen, is the men's section, from which another carved screen shuts off the choir. At the extreme east, forming an apse, is the *Heikal*, or sanctuary, containing a row of white marble seats, the Bishop's throne in the centre being slightly raised above the others.

The choir screen is usually adorned with a series of pictures ranged along the top, representing saints or sacred scenes, while the painting over the choir door depicts the Crucifixion. The Heikal screen is generally ornamented with Icons, like the Greek iconostasis. At each side of the Heikal is a smaller sanctuary, and in all three is found an altar. Just outside each is a lectern, on which stands a Book of the Gospels, in parallel columns of Coptic and Arabic.

2. *The Church of St. Mark at Alexandria.*

This church does not merit any special mention. It is

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[1] "The word narthex (*νάρθηξ*) signifies a plant with a long stalk . . and the ecclesiastical narthex seems to have been of an oblong form in front of, or lying across, the entrance to the sacred building." Eadie, Eccl. Cyclop. p. 453.

situated near the station for Ramleh, but presents no features of historical interest. The ancient churches of Alexandria appear to have suffered far more severely than those of Cairo. A list, very inaccurate and incomplete, of the Coptic churches in Alexandria is given by Neale.[1]

3. *The Churches of Cairo.*

Among the churches in Cairo may be mentioned[2] those of Al Adra, with the adjoining chapel of Abu Sefayn, and above, the church of Mari Girgis. These are in the Haret-az-Zuailah. In the Haret-ar-Rum are the churches of Al Adra and Mari Girgis; and, close to the cathedral, the chapel of St. Stephen.

4. *The Churches of Babylon.*

Immediately to the south of Old Cairo, and some three miles from the Ismailiya quarter of the city, is the ancient Roman fortress of Babylon, which includes within its walls no less than five ancient Coptic churches. There appears to be little doubt that, from very early times, a city lay on the east bank of the Nile, nearly opposite the Pyramids, which is said to have received from the Greeks the name of Babylon, in imitation of some Egyptian sound, but which, more probably, was called by the Persians, during their invasion of Egypt, after the ancient capital on the Euphrates.[3] It is remarkable that, until within comparatively recent years, the existence of Babylon in Egypt appears to have been almost entirely unknown. "The church that is at Babylon," of which St. Peter speaks (1 St. Peter, v. 13), was clearly intended to refer to the Christians of

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[1] Introd. to Holy Eastern Church, vol. i. p. 119.

[2] Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, vol. i. p. 271.

[3] Josephus (Ant. Judæos ii. 5) states that Babylon was built when Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 B.C.; while Eutychius (ap. Migne, Patrolog. Cursus, vol. iii. p. 967) gives the founder as a Persian king named Athus, who built a temple to the sun on the site of the present Church of Tadrus.

Egypt, the disciples of the Apostle's friend and amanuensis, St. Mark, and not (as is commonly stated) to some obscure body of converts at Babylon in Chaldæa.

The massive wall that surrounds Babylon, a considerable portion of which is still standing (although the northern side has almost entirely disappeared), is an enduring testimony to the thoroughness of the Roman occupation of Egypt. "The wall," says Mr. Butler,[1] "as usual with Roman walls, consists of alternate layers of brick and stone, five courses of stone alternating with three courses of brick—a very common arrangement. The height of a brick layer is nearly one foot, and that of a stone layer, three feet; taking the two together as four feet, one may easily calculate heights without measurement. The mortar is made of sand, lime, pebbles, and charcoal; and it is curious to notice that the Arabs of Old Cairo to this day mix the mortar with charcoal in the same manner."

The fortress was erected by Trajan, who at the same time repaired and enlarged the Ptolemaic canal (between the Nile and the Red Sea), now known as El-Khalig.

There are three methods of reaching Babylon. The most comfortable way is to hire a carriage for the expedition. The electric tramways, starting from the neighbourhood of the Esbekiyeh gardens, run through Old Cairo. The Helouan railway, starting from the Bab-el-Luk Square, brings the traveller opposite the entrance to the fortress at the station of St. George.

The Church of Abu Sargah, or St. Sergius, which is, perhaps, the most interesting of the Babylon group, is situated in the centre of the fortress. On arriving at the outer wall, about the middle of the western side, one descends a steep slope, at the base of which is a massive door, blocking the entrance that is cut through some eight

[1] Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, vol. i. p. 156.

feet of solid Roman masonry. A walk of about a hundred yards, along a narrow street, brings the visitor to the church, the entrance to which is at the south end of the western wall. The general structure is basilican, and the building consists of narthex (containing the large Epiphany tank, boarded over), the nave, north and south aisles, and sanctuary. Below the choir is the Crypt, a small, low subterranean church, which is traditionally believed to have been built on the spot where the Holy Family rested during the flight into Egypt. The crypt probably dates back to the sixth century, the church itself being about a thousand years old.

The Church of Al Muallakah, or "the Hanging Church," is close to the Roman gateway. This ancient and historical Cathedral of Babylon has been recently restored, at a cost of £6000, by a wealthy Coptic layman, Nachli Bey. One of the most interesting features is the exquisite cedar and inlaid ivory screen, which probably belongs to the eleventh century. To about the same period must be ascribed the beautiful marble ambon or pulpit, standing on fifteen delicate Saracenic columns of fine marble.

The Church of St. Barbara[1] dates from the eighth or ninth century. It is not in such good preservation as the Church of Al Muallakah, but well deserves a visit. The screen, which divides off the northern chapel, is richly carved, and each panel represents a different animal. Gazelles, lions, vultures, hares, and camels are all pourtrayed.

The Church of Mari Girgis is said[2] to have been built in 684 A.D., by a wealthy scribe named Athanasius. It is more or less in ruins.

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[1] The St. Barbara to whom this Church is dedicated was "the daughter of a great man in the land of the East, who suffered martyrdom under Maximinus." See Malan, Notes on the Calendar, p. 61.

[2] By Eutychius.

The Church of Al Adra is a dark, nearly square, building, with the usual features, and is entered by a low, narrow arched doorway. It contains, hanging above the screen, a small ancient Arabic or Venetian glass lamp.

5. *The Churches of Old Cairo.*

The Church of Mari Mena probably dates from the fourth century. Makrizi[1] states that it was restored by the Patriarch Theodore (727 A.D. to 743 A.D.). St. Menas belonged to Alexandria. According to the legend preserved concerning him, he requested that, at his death, his body might be placed on a camel, and that the beast might be turned loose in the desert. This having been done, the corpse was subsequently discovered by a shepherd, who noticed that a sick lamb was suddenly healed by rolling in the dust, and he was thus guided to the place where the remains were concealed. A church was erected on the spot, and the city which sprang up there was called Mareotis.

The Church of Abu Sefayn dates from the tenth century. Renaudot[2] gives a quaint legend regarding the rebuilding of this church. "The choir-screen," says Butler,[3] "is worth a journey to Egypt to see. It is a massive partition of ebony, divided into three large panels—doorway and two side panels—which are framed in masonry. At each side of the doorway is a square pillar, plastered and painted; on the left is pourtrayed the Crucifixion, and over it the sun shining full; on the right, the Taking down from the Cross, and over it the sun eclipsed." This screen dates from 927 A.D., which was probably the year in which the church was built. The doorway of the Heikal is an exquisite piece of workmanship, made of ebony inlaid with ivory.

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[1] History of the Copts. Malan's translation, p. 77.
[2] Hist. Patr. Alex. p. 369.
[3] Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, vol. i. p. 86.

The Church of Sitt Miriam dates from the eighth century or even earlier. Makrizi[1] states that it was pulled down in 770 A.D., but it was probably rebuilt soon after.

The above are the principal churches of Old Cairo, although there are several smaller chapels and nunneries, as well as the churches in the Deyrs or Monasteries of Bablun and Tadrus. Each is girt by its own belt of lofty wall, built of grey brick, and covered in places with plaster, but Bablun, unlike Tadrus, throws out northward a low fence-wall, which forms an enclosure before the entrance.[2]

6. *The Churches of Upper Egypt.*

It would be impossible, within the limits of space in this volume, to attempt to give a list of the churches throughout Lower and Upper Egypt. There are comparatively few that are of great historical or archæological interest, though mention may be made of the churches of Nakadah, about twelve miles north of Thebes; the church at Armant, twenty-five miles north of Esne; and the church on the Island of Philæ.

7. *The Monasteries of Egypt.*

About three days' journey to the north-west of Cairo, in a depression in the Libyan desert, are situated the Natron lakes. Here, in the Wadi[3] Natrun, are situated the renowned, but rarely visited, monasteries attached to the Coptic Church. Gibbon mentions that at one time no less than fifty were in existence, but at the present time there are only four standing—viz., the monasteries of Macarius, Bishoi, Suriani, and Baramous. Tradition states that the predecessors of the monks who now inhabit the

[1] History of the Copts, Malan's translation, p. 80.
[2] Butler's Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, vol. i. p. 250.
[3] Wadi=valley.

Natron valley, viz., the Therapeutæ,[1] were to be found there in the days of St. Mark himself, while St. Frontonius withdrew to the same spot with seventy companions in the second century, and St. Ammon, a contemporary of St. Anthony, founded a settlement of cœnobites and hermits on Mount Nitria.[2] He is sometimes called the "father of Egyptian monasticism." Palladius[3] states that he found about five thousand monks there, some living quite alone, some with one or more companions, while six hundred τελειοι[4] dwelt apart from the rest in a more complete isolation. The monasteries of the Nitrian desert may therefore claim to occupy a site that has been hallowed by nearly eighteen centuries, or more, of Christian devotion and worship, though none of the existing institutions can trace back their foundation to an earlier date than the third or fourth century.

The four monasteries in the Natron valley are all built on the same general model, though each has different characteristics. They are, in effect, fortresses, about a hundred and fifty yards square, and surrounded by lofty walls.

The Monastery of St. Macarius was founded, by the saint whose name it bears, in the fourth century. It encloses three churches, each of which possesses some special feature of interest. It was repaired and strengthened towards the latter end of the ninth century by the Patriarch Shenouda. The number of monks living there is about twenty, of whom some two-thirds are in priest's orders.

The Monastery of Bishoi[5] was founded about the fourth century, and was extensively restored and repaired about a hundred years ago. It contains a very fine church.

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[1] An ascetic sect, resembling the Essenes, who settled chiefly on Lake Mareotis, near Alexandria.

[2] Rufinus, De Mon, 30. [3] Pall. 8. [4] Means "perfect."

[5] An Arabic corruption of the Coptic Isa, an abbreviation of the name Isaiah.

The Monastery of Suriani appears to have been founded by a colony of Syrian hermits, in the early ages of the Church. It was here that Curzon discovered that rich collection of ancient Syrian MSS., of priceless value, of which he speaks in his "Monasteries of the Levant." There are two churches in this Deyr, both dedicated to the Virgin.

The Monastery of Baramous, the dedication of which is involved in some obscurity, has been restored in such a way as to rob it of everything that could lend interest to it from an archæological point of view. Fortunately the fine old church has escaped, to a great extent, the vandalism that has ruined the Deyr itself.

A full account of these monuments of primitive Egyptian Christianity is given in Butler's "Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt."

A very brief mention must suffice of the *Monasteries of Upper Egypt*. The number of these from the fourth century onwards was enormous. In the neighbourhood of Arsinoë, Rufinus found no less than ten thousand monks, while of Oxyrhynchos it is stated that the place was so full of convents that monkish songs were heard in every quarter. In the fifth century the diocese contained ten thousand monks and twelve thousand nuns, while in the town itself were twelve churches.

The most interesting and best known, however, of the Deyrs of Upper Egypt are

The Monasteries of St. Anthony and St. Paul, situated in the eastern desert, not far from the Red Sea. The road leading to them starts from a village opposite to Benisouef, about seventy miles south of Cairo. The former stands on the slope of Mount Kolzim, at the foot of a precipice, and overlooks the gulf of Suez. It is quite inaccessible, visitors being hoisted up by ropes. It is from among the members of this community that the Coptic Patriarch is selected.

Two days' journey to the south brings the traveller to the Monastery of St. Paul, dedicated, not to the Apostle, but to the friend and companion of St. Anthony. It has scarcely ever been visited by Europeans, so that it is impossible to say what treasures, in the way of manuscripts and antiquities, might be discovered within its precincts.

The Convent of the Windlass[1] deserves special mention. It stands on the top of a lofty mountain, rising almost perpendicularly from the Nile, about 140 miles south of Cairo. It consists of a square enclosure, about two hundred feet in each direction, and contains a subterranean church, partly cut out of the solid rock, which is dedicated to the Virgin. Its foundation is traditionally ascribed to the Empress Helena. Speaking of its position on the "hill of the caverns," Makrizi writes: "At one point of the hill is a narrow fissure, and on the Saint's day of the convent all the bukir-birds[2] in the neighbourhood come flying to this fissure, flocking together in a huge crowd, and making a tremendous din. One after the other in constant succession thrusts its head into the cleft, and utters a scream, until one comes whose head sticks fast and cannot be withdrawn. The victim then beats its wings against the rocks until it dies, after which all the other birds depart, and leave the rock in solitude and silence."

On the left bank of the river, near Sohag—about 300 miles south of Cairo—are the White and Red Monasteries.

The White Monastery is dedicated to Anba Shenouda, a contemporary of St. Cyril, who was famous for his theological writings. It is about 240 feet by 130 feet, and, if tradition may be trusted, was founded by the Empress

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[1] Deyr-el-Bakrah, meaning "monastery of the pulley or windlass."

[2] The Bukir-bird is described as being black and white, with a black neck, ringed near the head, and black wing-feathers. It is able to swim.

Helena. It is surrounded by a lofty wall, and has all the appearance of a fortress. The handsome basilican church, dating from the fifth century, is described by Curzon.[1] The Deyr formerly contained a valuable library, the treasures of which were sold to European collectors at the end of last century.

The Red Monastery is situated about two miles to the north of the White Monastery. It is dedicated to Anba Bishoi, and takes its name from the red brick of which the outer walls are built. The basilican church within the precincts dates from the fourth century, and, before it fell into ruins, must have been a very fine structure.

Among the numerous monasteries which are to be found along the valley of the Nile may be mentioned, in addition to those already described:—

The Monastery of Maragh, close to Monfalout,[2] which is the seat of a Coptic Bishop, containing fifty monks;

A Monastery near Abydos, of great antiquity, enclosing what appears to be an old Egyptian fortress; and

A Monastery near Fau, about twenty miles north of Keneh, founded by St. Pachomius, where the monks from all the convents of Egypt used to assemble twice every year.

There are others, some of which are of considerable interest, but a complete enumeration and description of them would require a separate volume.

(b) Schools.

The origin and history of the Tewfik schools have been already briefly sketched in a previous chapter.[3] One of

[1] Monasteries of the Levant, p. 131.
[2] On the Nile, 217 miles south of Cairo.
[3] See p. 140.

the special objects which the Society had in view was to increase the number and efficiency of the native Christian schools. During my visit to Cairo in the spring of 1900 A.D., I collected all the information at my disposal on this subject, which was embodied in the report presented to the Association for the Furtherance of Christianity in Egypt on my return to England. The following is an extract from that report:—

"I paid a number of visits to the various Coptic schools in Cairo, both for boys and girls. The largest and most flourishing is the school for boys at the Patriarchate (founded by Cyril the Reformer), in which there are no less than seven hundred pupils. In each of the schools I held a brief examination, and satisfied myself that the simple secular education, including reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the study of European languages (especially English and French) was thorough and satisfactory. The weak point undoubtedly is the religious instruction. So far as I could ascertain, there is practically no opportunity afforded to the children attending the Tewfik schools of learning, in a systematic way, the principles of the Christian faith. In some (notably the Faggala girls' schools) the parish priest attends every day for the purpose of giving a lesson in Scripture or doctrine; but I had no opportunity of satisfying myself, by personal observation, as to the nature or extent of the teaching thus imparted.

"Perhaps the most concise way in which I can present the result of my investigations is to summarise, in the following table, the facts and figures which I collected. The number of schools in Cairo, the number of pupils in each school, and the cost to the Church of the education provided are set forth. The statement was compiled with considerable difficulty, no tabulated statistics in a convenient form being available.

No. of Schools.	No. of Pupils.	Annual Cost.
A. Church Schools—		
1 Clerical college	50	£550
6 Boys' schools	1100	3150
2 Girls' schools	350	500
B. Tewfik Society's Schools—		
1 Boys' school	290	500
1 Girls' school	140	250
C. Private Schools—		
5 Boys' schools	300	Supported by private generosity.
1 Girls' school	5	
Total 17	2235	£4950

"It will be seen from the above that the Coptic Church expends considerably over £5000 a year upon the education of the children in its own schools in Cairo. Towards this amount the Patriarch contributes largely out of his private purse.

"It would have been impossible for me, both on the score of time and expense, to have visited the numerous schools belonging to the Coptic Church, outside of Cairo. There is at least one in Alexandria, and there are schools, mainly for boys, in all the principal towns and villages along the banks of the Nile, numbering upwards of 400, and providing education for from 10,000 to 12,000 pupils. Only a few are self-supporting, the greater number being maintained by private contributions."

(c) Liturgies and Worship.

The Coptic language of the present day is believed, by the best authorities, to be virtually the ancient Egyptian tongue, which was spoken by the builders of the great pyramids, and it was probably in very early Christian times that Coptic became crystallised into its existing form. Up to the sixth century, from which (if not earlier) we may date the writing of Coptic,[1] it was almost universally used

[1] Pachomius is said to have translated the Psalms into Coptic about the year 300 A.D.

in the services of the Church, and was the language generally spoken in Egypt. But it was not long after the Mohammedan conquest of the country that Arabic took its place as the ordinary means of conversation and intercommunion.

There are three liturgies still in use in the Coptic Church, viz., the Liturgy of St. Basil,[1] which is employed on ordinary occasions; the Liturgy of St. Gregory Nazianzen, reserved for the great festivals; and the Liturgy of St. Cyril—"the Liturgy of St. Mark, which Cyril perfected"[2]—that is sung during Lent and Advent.

"The liturgy, whether read in the pages of Renaudot in the longer form of St. Basil, or in the pages of Malan in the shorter form of St. Mark, is exceedingly beautiful. The prayers are marked by dignity and earnestness, and—to quote Dean Stanley—'by a high theological view of the doctrine of the Trinity, combined with an absence of any precision of statement in regard to mediation or redemption.'[3] Direct addresses to Christ are the rule, instead of, as in the Western liturgies, the exception; yet the Western Christian will but rarely find in Eastern liturgies that close 'through Jesus Christ,' so familiar and so dear to him. In some instances—notably, the Confessio 'Corpus Sanctum,' or confession of faith before Communion, and the addition to the Trisagion—these prayers represent a position won after struggles or explanations which take their place in the history of the Coptic Church."[4]

The three liturgies above-mentioned differ, in many particulars, from the Western liturgies, but, like our own, they are full of a spirit of devotion, and essentially based on Holy Scripture.

The Coptic Church has, from the earliest times, acknowledged seven canonical Sacraments, viz.—Baptism, Confirma-

[1] Not the Liturgy of St. Basil the Great, which is used in the Greek Church.

[2] Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, vol. i. p. 85.

[3] Eastern Church, p. 25.

[4] Dictionary of Christian Biography, p. 683.

tion, Holy Eucharist, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Unction of the Sick.

1. Baptism and Confirmation. The rule of the Church is that male children should be baptized on the fortieth, and female children on the eightieth, day after birth. If the infant's life is in danger, it may be baptized at once. This course is urgently recommended, as there is a popular belief among the Copts that a child who dies unbaptized will be blind in the future state. Baptism must always be administered by a priest, and, save in cases of emergency, in the church. Lay baptism is prohibited. The Jewish practice of circumcision is usual, but not compulsory. It is performed on the eighth day after birth, but must not take place after baptism.

Coptic children are baptized by triple immersion in consecrated water. The baptismal formula used is: "I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, Amen; I baptize thee in the Name of the Son, Amen; I baptize thee in the Name of the Holy Ghost, Amen." Sponsors are required to answer for the child, and sponsorship is regarded as a material as well as a spiritual relationship, marriages between those thus connected being forbidden.

Immediately after baptism, the child is anointed with the "chrism," or consecrated oil, after which confirmation is administered by the Bishop, who lays his hand upon the child's head, offers a prayer, and seals the forehead with the sign of the Cross. This is followed by the administration of the Holy Communion, the priest dipping his finger into the chalice, and dropping the consecrated wine into the infant's mouth. Sometimes the child receives milk and honey mingled, as symbolical of its admission into the spiritual "promised land."

2. Holy Eucharist. The Canons strictly enjoin that intending communicants should fast from the vespers of the preceding day. Confession is also required before Com-

munion, and penances are inflicted in certain cases; which probably accounts for the fact that comparatively few among the Copts receive the Holy Eucharist more than once a year, and many at even greater intervals.

The bread used for the Corban[1] must be leavened, made of the finest wheat flour procurable, and baked by the sacristan on the morning of the day when it is required. The cake, or wafer,[2] is about three inches in diameter, and not more than an inch in thickness, and is stamped with a device of crosses, surrounded by the legend (in Coptic characters), + ἅγιος ἰσχυρος + ἅγιος ἀθάνατος + ἅγιος ὁ Θεός. + The Eucharistic wine is unfermented,[3] being made from the juice of dried grapes or raisins, which are soaked in water.

Lighted tapers, the mixed chalice, and incense are employed during the service. The priest may not communicate alone, the rule being that a deacon, and if possible a layman (representing the laity) must communicate with him, and all receive in both kinds. The doctrine of the Real Presence is taught, and it seems clear that the actual transmutation of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ is held. The following passage occurs (in the Liturgy of St. Basil) in the Prayer of Oblation:

> "We pray and beseech Thy goodness, O Lover of men, to cause Thy face to shine upon this bread and upon this cup, which we have placed upon this Thy priestly Table; bless them, sanctify them, and consecrate them; change them, that this bread may become Thy Holy Body, and that which is mingled in this Cup, Thy precious Blood; that they may be to us all the safeguard, the medicine, the salvation, of our souls, bodies, and spirits."

Reservation of the Holy Sacrament for the sick is not permitted; but the sacred elements must be consecrated

[1] This is the Arabic word for the Holy Eucharist, signifying "an offering."

[2] The Patriarch Cyril presented me with one on the occasion of one of my visits to him.

[3] See p. 70.

afresh, in the church, and then taken to the invalid at his house.

Masses for the repose of the souls of the dead are unknown in the Coptic Church, as the Copts have no belief in purgatory. They hold that the soul after death continues in an intermediate state for forty days, awaiting the judgment, but that no suffering during that period can expiate sin.

3. Confession and Penance. The Sacrament of Confession is regarded as binding in the Church of Egypt, both before receiving the Holy Eucharist, and on the death-bed. Confession must always be made to the priest, but the penance is fixed, and absolution given, by the Kummos, or archpriest. In the Church of Abyssinia it is customary to touch the penitent with a spray of olive, but this, if it was ever usual among the Copts, has long since been discontinued.

4. Holy Orders. The various orders existing in the Coptic Church are monks, readers, sub-deacons, deacons (of whom the archdeacon is the head), priests (of whom the archpriest is the head), bishops (including metropolitans), and the Patriarch.

Monks. Three years' novitiate is required in all cases. At the end of that time the candidate is admitted by the abbot, at a special service, consisting of the office for the burial of the dead, to signify his death to the world. "It is this Oriental seclusion," writes Dean Stanley, "which, whether from character, or climate, or contagion, has to the Christian world been far more forcibly represented in the Oriental than in the Latin Church. The solitary and contemplative devotion of the Eastern monks, whether in Egypt or Greece, though broken by the manual labour necessary for their subsistence, has been very slightly modified either by literary or agricultural activity. . . . Active life is, on the strict Eastern theory, an abuse of the system."[1]

Readers. The reader is admitted to his office by the

[1] Eastern Church, p. 26.

Bishop, but without imposition of hands. As in the case of a monk, the Bishop, with a pair of scissors, cuts a large cross through the hair of the candidate; and, having offered up prayer, delivers the Book of the Gospels, and administers the Holy Eucharist. No reader, nor subdeacon, nor singer, may enter the sanctuary, but they receive the Holy Communion before the laity.

Sub-deacon. The sub-deacon, after the prayer of morning incense, stands at the door of the Heikal, and the Bishop places one hand on each temple, so that the thumbs meet on the forehead. The candidate then kisses the altar, and receives the Holy Eucharist, holding a lighted candle in his hand throughout the service.

Deacon. The ordination of the deacon consists of a service in many respects similar to that in the Anglican Church. The candidate is invested by the Bishop with the insignia of the order, viz., the placing of the orarion[1] on the left shoulder, at which point all the clergy present call out, ἄξιος —he is worthy. The Eucharistic spoon is delivered to the deacon, as a symbol of his office, and held by him throughout the celebration of the Holy Communion, at the close of which the Bishop breathes on his face.

Priest. The canonical age for the ordination of a priest is thirty-three. He must have made up his mind, on becoming a candidate for the diaconate, whether he wishes to marry or not, as, once he is ordained a priest, he is forbidden to take a wife. The majority of the clergy are married, and as a rule they enter the bonds of matrimony during their diaconate. Those who aspire to priest's orders must, on the day appointed for ordination, present themselves at the church vested in dalmatics, with the orarion over the left shoulder. After the Bishop (standing at the altar, facing eastwards) has offered the prayer of morning incense, he turns round, and places his hand on the head

[1] *Orarion* is the Coptic for stole.

of each candidate, offering up a supplication. He then makes the sign of the Cross on the forehead of the newly-ordained priest, and vests him in sacerdotal apparel. After the candidates have received the Holy Communion, the Bishop again lays his hand three times upon their heads, and the congregation shouts ἄξιος, with the name of the priest and his cure. Ordination is followed by a fast of forty days.

The usual method of appointing a parish priest is as follows. He is elected by the parishioners to be their incumbent, subject to the approval of the Bishop of the diocese; and, this done, he goes through a course of theological training in preparation for his ordination to the priesthood.

Bishop. The night before his consecration must be kept by the candidate for the episcopate as a vigil, during which time he recites the whole of the Psalms and the Gospel of St. John. On the appointed morning, when mattins is over, the Patriarch commences the office of the Holy Eucharist. The episcopal vestments are placed on the altar, the candidate standing at the south side of the choir, with a lighted taper in his hand. A procession is then formed, and proceeds round the church, after which the instrument of election is handed to the Patriarch. At the appointed moment in the service, the Bishops present place their hands on the shoulders of the candidate, the Patriarch laying hands on his head, and then, after signing the cross three times on his forehead, vesting him in the episcopal apparel. At the Communion, the Patriarch, after receiving the sacred elements, confesses the new Bishop, and delivers to him the wafer and the chalice. When he utters the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," he breathes on the face of the Bishop in the form of a cross, and, after the benediction, robes him in a dark-coloured processional cope.

The installation, or enthronement, of the Bishop in his own church is performed on a weekday, and three other Bishops must be present.

A Bishop, who must be a monk (he may have been married once, but must be a widower), is generally elected by the people of the diocese, subject to the approval of the Patriarch.

Patriarch. In the early days of the Church, the Patriarch was elected from among the twelve presbyters ordained by St. Mark, and their successors, and this practice continued till the fourth century. The election was made by bishops, clergy, and laity, and was always held at Alexandria until the eleventh century, when it was transferred to Cairo, where the Patriarch has now resided for several hundred years. Immediately on the death of the Patriarch, letters are sent to the Bishops, to the monasteries, and to the principal laymen, notifying the fact, and summoning them to meet. The senior Bishop presides, and, after solemn prayer and fasting, a candidate is proposed. If the meeting is unanimous, he is accordingly chosen. In the event of there being two or three candidates put forward, the usual method of procedure has been to have recourse to the Heikeliet.[1]

The Patriarch must be of free birth; the son of a "crowned" mother—*i.e.*, his father must have been his mother's first husband; of good bodily health; not less than fifty years of age; unmarried; of blameless life; a dweller in the desert, and never consecrated Bishop.

After his election, he is brought in chains to Cairo, a symbolical custom which arose from the fact that several of the Patriarchs, owing to their unwillingness to undertake the responsibilities of the office, or from a sense of unfitness, had to be dragged by force to the church for consecration.[2] The service is similar to that for the consecration of a Bishop. If the Patriarch is not in priest's orders when elected, he is ordained deacon on the Thursday, priest on

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[1] See p. 64.

[2] This happened to Joseph (A.D. 837), Shenouda (A.D. 859), and Ephraem (A.D. 975).

the Friday, and Kummos, or archpriest, on the Saturday, the consecration taking place on the Sunday.

The exact title of the Coptic Patriarch is as follows: "The most Holy Pope and Patriarch of the great city of Alexandria and all the land of Egypt, Jerusalem the Holy City, Nubia, Pentapolis, and Ethiopia, and all the preaching of St. Mark."

The present Patriarch lives in a simple manner, the emoluments being very small. Cyril has a considerable private fortune, which he devotes to the good of the Church, spending a large proportion on the maintenance of the Coptic schools.

He is assisted in the management of the Church's affairs by a Lay Council.[1] The special duties of this assembly consist in helping in the administration of the property of the Church, and in supervising the schools, and also in judging, in concert with the Spiritual Council, in matters of inheritance and divorce.

5. Holy Matrimony. Marriage among the Copts consists of two distinct religious ceremonies, namely, the betrothal and the coronation, which may or may not take place at the same time. The priest must ascertain that both parties are acting of their own free will, and that they are not related within the prohibited degrees;[2] and the Canons forbid marriages to be solemnised in Lent. The betrothal usually takes place on the Saturday evening, at the house of a relation of the bride or bridegroom, in the presence of the priest and the witnesses. At this ceremony two rings are blessed and exchanged, and the bridegroom gives the bride a little gold cross, which she wears round her neck at the coronation, intended to signify in her case the same attachment to Christ as the girdle in the case of the man. The

[1] See p. 135.

[2] Besides the natural relationships, marriage between godparents and godchildren, and foster parents and foster brothers and sisters, is prohibited.

coronation is generally held in church on the Sunday. Two armchairs are placed in front of the altar for the accommodation of those about to be married, the rest of the people remaining standing. The bridegroom is attired in a cope of richly embroidered white silk, which, like the crown, belongs to the Church, and is lent for the occasion. The bride wears white, with a white veil. Standing at the entrance to the choir, they are covered by the priest with a single veil of white silk or pure linen, symbolical of a pure and holy union. After several prayers have been offered, the priest blesses a vessel of oil, and anoints them on the forehead and the wrist. He then blesses the crowns, and places them on their heads, saying: "With glory and honour the Father has crowned them, the Son blesses them, the Holy Ghost crowns them, comes down upon them, and perfects them."

At the close of the service, the newly-married couple stand at the entrance to the sanctuary, with their arms crossed, and the priest lays the golden cross upon their heads, and pronounces the Absolution. According to the Canon, the celebration of the Holy Eucharist follows, at which the bride and bridegroom communicate; but this is sometimes omitted. The crowns are now removed before the couple leave the church. Formerly, however, a solemn service was held, on the eighth day after the marriage, for this purpose.

Divorce is rare among the Copts, except for misconduct, although in certain instances the influence of Moslem customs leads to separation on slighter grounds. The innocent party may remarry, with the permission of the Patriarch, but the ceremony of crowning is omitted, as in the case of a widow or widower.

6. Anointing of the Sick. This practice, which is of great antiquity, is based upon the precept of St. James,[1] and is not administered, as in the Roman Church, when the sick

[1] St. James v. 14.

person is at the point of death. A lamp with seven branches is filled with the purest oil from Palestine, and seven priests take part in the service, the chief priest among them blessing the oil. The sick man is then brought into the Church, and the priest, holding the silver book of the Gospels high above his head, anoints him on the forehead, prayers for his recovery being offered. If he is too ill to be present, a substitute takes his place, and the same service is held.

A few words may be added about the *Burial of the dead.* As soon as a death occurs, the hired wailing-women arrive, and the whole of the female portion of the family assemble in the women's quarter, where a scene of frantic excitement takes place. The mourners beat their faces, tear their hair, and shriek, or chant a funeral dirge, for many hours, the men sitting below in silence, smoking. The day after the funeral the women keep up an incessant wailing, and the following day the priest pays a visit of condolence, and sprinkles the rooms of the house with holy water. All the near relations fast between the death and burial of the deceased, a period of one, or possibly two, days.

The *funeral service* is held in the church, prior to the burial of the corpse in the cemetery. The procession is headed by the sexton, carrying a silver cross, then the choir-boys carrying flags, followed by the priests, the bier, and the mourners.

Among other interesting services and ceremonies in the Coptic Church may be specially mentioned the office for the *Consecration of a Church with the Altar and the Epiphany tank.* When the Bishop of Salisbury called on the Patriarch Cyril, on October 12, 1898, His Beatitude presented to the Bishop a manuscript of the fourteenth century, entitled (in Arabic): "The Consecration of the new Church and the Altar, Coptic and Arabic together." A descrip-

tion[1] of the MS., by the Rev. George Horner, the Editor of the Coptic version of the New Testament, has been published. In a prefatory note, the Bishop of Salisbury, commenting on the simplicity and scriptural character of the service, writes:

> "Far the largest part of it consists of Psalms and Lessons from Scripture. The rite has indeed a number of wearisome repetitions, which might perhaps be reduced in length in any form published for modern usage, especially as there is some evidence that it consists of two separate and alternative services accumulated. It differs both from the old local Roman, and the existing Greek, rite in having no ceremonies connected with the burial of relics. In its use of water and ointment, as the principal symbolic elements of the rite, it agrees with the Western non-Roman or late Roman forms. On the other hand, the prayers and lections of all four types (early Roman, Western, Greek, and Coptic) are apparently almost, if not quite, independent, generally uniting only in such points as are inevitable from the similarity of the fundamental ideas. There appears to be little doubt that the Coptic rite is the earliest that has come down to us, but that it is later than the fourth century, since there seems no reference to the case of transformation of heathen temples into churches, as at Medinet Habou, in Thebes; on the contrary, the prayers and rubrics several times imply that the church to be consecrated is new, and has been built for Christian worship."

Butler, in his Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt,[2] gives an account of several other rites and ceremonies of the Coptic Church, including the Blessing of the Holy Oils, and the Consecration of a Baptistery; the Offices for the Festival of the Epiphany, and for Palm Sunday and Holy Week; and an account of the seasons of fasting.

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[1] This appeared in vol. xxi. pp. 86-107 of the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology," March, 1899.

[2] Vol. ii. pp. 330 seq.

(D) Ecclesiastical Vestments.

It will have been gathered, from the preceding pages, that the ritual in the Coptic Church is decidedly elaborate, and is thus in accord with the rest of the Eastern Church.

The vestments are seven in number, corresponding to the number of Orders in the Church, and are of pure white, symbolically reproducing the raiment, "white as light," described in the account of the Transfiguration of our Blessed Lord.

The vestments are as follows:

1. Dalmatic. This is a long, tight-fitting robe reaching to the ankles, and is usually of white silk. It is frequently embroidered with some device representing the Virgin and Child.

2. Amice. A long band or scarf of white silk or linen, worn over the head by the priest, and embroidered with a cross or other design.

3. Girdle. This has the authority of antiquity, and a special interest is attached to it in the history of the Church of Egypt, from the fact that it was for a long period prescribed as a distinguishing mark of the dress of the Christian, being regarded by the laity as a token of ignominy and reproach.

4 and 5. Sleeves. It is doubtful whether these correspond with the *Epimanikia* of the Greek Church, viz., a sleeve reaching from the elbow, where it is loose, to the wrist, where it is smaller and almost tight-fitting; or with the *Maniple*, a kind of napkin carried in the left hand by priests, and not allowed to deacons or inferior orders.

6. Stole. Butler[1] describes two forms of the stole. The first, called patrashîl in Arabic, corresponding to the Greek

[1] Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, vol. ii. pp. 127 seq.

Epitrachelion, is a broad band of silk, richly embroidered, falling down the front, with an opening at the top through which to pass the head. The other is called in Coptic *orarion*, and corresponds to our Western ideas of a stole.

7. Chasuble. This, which is in many respects similar to the chasuble familiar to Anglicans, is usually of silk, though the monks sometimes use a plain chasuble of white wool without any border.

The Bishops generally wear a *mitre* or *crown*, and carry a *pastoral staff*, when officiating. The designs of the latter are quaint and characteristic.

The Patriarch possesses a large, handsomely-executed crown in silver gilt, which was a gift from King John of Abyssinia. The body of the crown is cylindrical, divided into two sections by three horizontal bands of raised work, each band thickly studded with jewels; while the top is domed, and surmounted by a little open tower supporting a cross.

(E) Articles of Belief.

The Coptic Church is regarded as one of the Separatist Churches of the East, owing to its refusal to accept the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.) which condemned the Monophysite heresy, and deposed Dioscorus, the Coptic Patriarch. For fourteen centuries the Church of Egypt has thus been cut off from the communion of the rest of the Catholic Church.

To whatever extent it may, in the fifth century, have been affected by Monophysitism, it seems practically certain that no taint of that ancient heresy exists, either in the service-books, or in the popular belief, of the Copts to-day. "Whatever they may once have been," writes the Rev. A. H. Hore,[1] "the Copts are not now Monophysite."

[1] Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church, p. 263.

During my stay in Cairo, I had the pleasure of receiving a visit from the Bishop of Abu Tig, who is one of the younger generation of Bishops of the Coptic Church, and is in favour of many of the items of the scheme of reform which was started about the year 1890 A.D.,[1] being specially in favour of the admission of the laity to a greater share in the government of the Church. The Bishop was attended by his chaplain, and accompanied by Marcus Simaika Bey, who acted as interpreter.

We had a long discussion on the position of the Church, and my episcopal guest assured me that, in spite of the rejection of the Council of Chalcedon, which was occasioned out of loyalty to, and affection for, their Patriarch, the Copts are, at the present time, absolutely free from heretical views as to the Nature of our Lord.

They recite the Nicene Creed, and in their office for the Holy Eucharist, which is contained in the Liturgy of St. Basil,[2] the following passage occurs:

"I believe . . that this is the life-giving Body which Thine only-begotten Son . . took from our Lady, . . the holy mother of God . . . He united it with His Divinity, without mingling and without confusion and without alteration. . . ."

It would be difficult for the most exacting liturgical critic to require a more completely orthodox statement of belief in the Divine and human natures of Christ than this.

(F) Political Status and Disabilities.

For many centuries, as has been shown in the earlier pages of this volume, the Coptic Christians were constantly subjected to the most galling and irritating penalties and insults, at the hands of their Mohammedan rulers. They were condemned to wear distinctive garments and badges, as

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[1] See p. 139. [2] See p. 203.

evidence of their inferiority; they were prohibited from riding on horses; they were mercilessly taxed and robbed. Again and again they were deprived of the opportunity of earning their livelihood in any Government office or employment, although this enactment was always repealed soon after it had been put in force, because their superior intelligence and education rendered them indispensable in positions of trust.

Under the British administration, of course, all these vexatious restrictions have disappeared. But there is one form of disability under which they still labour, that has not yet been entirely removed, and that is, the survival of the "*Capitulations*."[1] Under the operation of these treaties, which were designed to regulate the position of foreign residents in the Turkish dominions (of which Egypt still nominally forms a part), the Greek Christians enjoyed certain privileges, notably exemption from some of the taxes which the natives, including the Copts, were compelled to pay. It seems unreasonable that agreements entered into between the Powers, with the object of protecting foreigners from the arbitrary tyranny of Mohammedan rulers and judges, should have been permitted to become the means of giving strangers unfair advantages over the people of the land. The effect of the working of the "Capitulations" is that the native trader is seriously handicapped in his competition with the foreigner who sets up as a rival next door to him.

These disabilities press with great hardship upon the Copts, but it is hoped that, before very long, they may be swept away, like the worse evils and injustices which have disappeared under the equitable and generous influence of Lord Cromer.

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[1] See p. 122.

(G) List of Patriarchs of the Coptic Church.

[Note.—*The exact date of the accession of each Patriarch is given after mature consideration, the evidence adduced by the different authorities (which frequently vary considerably) being in every case carefully weighed.*]

	A.D.
1. St. Mark	40
2. Annianus	62
3. Abilius	82
4. Cerdo	95
5. Primus	106
6. Justus	118
7. Eumenius	129
8. Marcian	142
9. Celadion	152
10. Agrippinus	166
11. Julian	178
12. Demetrius I.	189
13. Heraclas	232
14. Dionysius	247
15. Maximus	265
16. Theonas	282
17. Peter I.	300
18. Achillas	312
19. Alexander I.	313
20. Athanasius I.	326
21. Peter II.	373
22. Timothy I.	380
23. Theophilus	385
24. Cyril I.	412
25. Dioscorus I,	444
26. Timothy II.	457
27. Peter III.	477
28. Athanasius II.	490
29. John I.	497
30. John II.	507
31. Dioscorus II.	517
32. Timothy III.	520
33. Theodosius I.	536
34. Peter IV.	568
35. Damian	570
36. Anastasius	603
37. Andronicus	614
38. Benjamin I.	620
39. Agatho	659
40. John III.	677
41. Isaac	686
42. Simon I.	689
43. Alexander II.	703
44. Cosmas I.	726
45. Theodore	727
46. Chail I. (Michael)	743
47. Mennas I.	767
48. John IV.	776
49. Marcus II.	799
50. Jacob	819
51. Simon II.	836
52. Joseph	837
53. Chail II. (Michael)	849
54. Cosmas II.	851
55. Shenouda I.	859
56. Chail III. (Michael)	881
57. Gabriel I.	910
58. Cosmas III.	921
59. Macarius I.	933
60. Theophanius	953
61. Mennas II.	956
62. Ephraem	975
63. Philotheus	980
64. Zacharias	1004
65. Shenouda II.	1032
66. Christodoulos	1047
67. Cyril II.	1078
68. Chail IV. (Michael)	1092
69. Macarius II.	1102
70. Gabriel II.	1131

	A.D.
71. Chail V. (Michael).	1146
72. John V. . .	1147
73. Marcus III. . .	1165
74. John VI. . .	1189
75. Cyril III. . .	1235
76. Athanasius III. .	1250
77. Gabriel III. . .	1269
78. John VII. . .	1271
79. Theodosius II. .	1294
80. John VIII. . .	1300
81. John IX. . .	1321
82. Benjamin II. .	1327
83. Peter V. . .	1340
84. Marcus IV. . .	1348
85. John X. . .	1363
86. Gabriel IV. . .	1371
87. Matthew I. . .	1375
88. Gabriel V. . .	1409
89. John XI. . .	1427
90. Matthew II. . .	1453
91. Gabriel VI. . .	1467
92. Chail VI.(Michael)	1475
93. John XII. . .	1481
94. John XIII. . .	1521
95. Gabriel VII. .	1526
96. John XIV. . .	1570
97. Gabriel VIII. .	1585
98. Marcus V. . .	1602
99. John XV. . .	1619
100. Matthew III. .	1629
101. Marcus VI. . .	1646
102. Matthew IV. .	1660
103. John XVI. . .	1676
104. Peter VI. . .	1718
105. John XVII. .	1727
106. Marcus VII. .	1745
107. John XVIII. .	1770
108. Marcus VIII. .	1797
109. Peter VII. . .	1809
110. Cyril IV. . .	1854
111. Demetrius II. .	1862
112. Cyril V. . ,	1875

List of Bishops of the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

Name.	Title.	Diocese.	No. of Churches.	No. of Priests.
Cyril V.	Patriarch of Alexandria	Cairo	23	35
Timotheus	Metropolitan of Jerusalem.			
Johannes	,, Alexandria	Alexandria.		
(Vacant)	,, Menoufieh	Behera and Menoufieh	48	60
...	Bishop of Dakahlieh, Sharkieh, and Gharbieh	Dakahlieh, Sharkieh & Gharbieh	70	95
Abraham	Bishop of Ghizeh and Fayoum	Ghizeh and Fayoum	25	40
Isaak	Bishop of Benisouef	Benisouef	24	70
Demetrius	Bishop of Minieh	Minieh	40	90
Athanasius	Metropolitan of Sanabou	Sanabou	32	65
Petros	Bishop of Manfalout	Manfalout	28	55
Makarius	Metropolitan of Assiout	Assiout	25	66
Basilius	,, Abu Tig	Abu Tig	45	105
Matthæus	,, Girghet and Akhmin	Girghet and Akhmin	50	101
Aghabius	Bishop of Keneh	Keneh	24	48
Markus	Metropolitan of Luxor and Esneh	Luxor and Esneh	13	26
Sarapamoun	Bishop of Nubia and Khartoum	Nubia and Khartoum.		
Bakhomius	Bishop of the Moharrak Monastery.			
Markus	Bishop of St. Anthony's Monastery.			
Arsenius	Bishop of St. Paul's Monastery.			
Siderius	Bishop of the Monastery of Baramous (Nitria).			

In Abyssinia.

Matthew	Metropolitan of Axum.
Johannes, Lucas, Petros	Bishops.

[Note.—*These particulars were secured for me, with considerable trouble, by Simaika Bey.*]

CHAPTER II.

The Greek (Melchite) Church.

After the condemnation and deposition of Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D., the Christian Church in Egypt was divided into two hopelessly irreconcilable camps. The bitterness between the Monophysites and the Melchites was aggravated by the injury and injustice inflicted by the Greek Emperors on those who remained loyal to Dioscorus. They were excluded from all positions of power and emolument, and condemned to every kind of servile labour; so that socially, politically, and ecclesiastically, they became opposed to the Greek rulers of their country. Gibbon[1] describes the tension existing between the two communities: "Every Melchite or Imperialist was, in the eyes of the Copts, a stranger, every Jacobite a citizen; the alliance of marriage, offices of humanity towards the Greeks, were condemned as deadly sins; the nation renounced all allegiance with the Emperor and his orders, at a distance from Alexandria, were obeyed only under the pressure of military force."

Attempts were made to soften the differences, and to bring about an understanding between the rival churches, but no reconciliation was effected. After the Mohammedan conquest, the Melchites were generally favoured by the Moslem rulers at the expense of the Jacobites, because, the latter being regarded as the indigenous Christian Church, it was considered to be the wisest policy to keep them from becoming too powerful.

At the present time, the relations between the authorities of the Greek and Coptic Churches in Egypt are

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[1] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, viii. 365.

friendly. Indeed, some forty years ago, when Abbas Pasha was Viceroy, Cyril the Reformer and the Greek Patriarch, Kallinicus, who had a great affection for each other, endeavoured to draw the two Churches together. The basis of the arrangement was that the latter should acknowledge the supremacy of Cyril, as Patriarch of all Egypt, by resigning his office into his hands, and that Kallinicus should then be reinstated as Patriarch of the Greek-speaking residents. The very fact that this was seriously proposed is conclusive evidence that, in the judgment of the authorities of the Greek Church, the Coptic Church is free from any suspicion of the Monophysite heresy. The concordat, unfortunately, was not carried out at that time, but there is every reason to hope that, before many years have passed, the position of Christianity in Egypt may be considerably strengthened by a common understanding, issuing ultimately in complete intercommunion, between the Anglican, Greek, and Coptic Churches in that country. At the present moment the indications are eminently favourable to such a result. Photius, the Greek Patriarch of Alexandria, is a great personal friend of Bishop Blyth, and is in favour of the development of amicable relations with the authorities of the Church of England. He is also well-disposed towards Cyril and the Copts.

The circumstances attending the arrival of Photius in Egypt, to take up his Patriarchal duties, are of special significance, in view of the possibilities of a mutual friendly understanding between the two Churches. Owing to certain political jealousies, the necessary Firman confirming the appointment of Photius was, for upwards of six months, withheld by the Turkish Government, and it was not until September 28th, 1900, that His Holiness arrived in Alexandria. After receiving addresses of welcome, the Patriarch marched, in procession, to the Cathedral, generally known as the Church of the Evangelismos, amid the acclamations of the people. Among those assembled in the sacred build-

ing were the Sirdar, Sir Francis Wingate (Lord Cromer was absent, being in England at the time), several Coptic and Armenian dignitaries, and the Rev. E. J. Davis, Chaplain of St. Mark's at Alexandria, representing the Anglican Church. Mr. Davis was placed in the first of the seats allotted to ecclesiastics of churches other than the Greek Orthodox. The Latin Church was not represented.

A few days after the celebration of his arrival, and his investiture as Patriarch, Photius came to Cairo, in order to pay a state visit to the Coptic Patriarch Cyril. It so happened that nearly all the Bishops of the Coptic Church had assembled to take part in the proceedings of the annual Synod, and, at the invitation of Cyril, they were present with him when Photius called at the Patriarchate. The interview between the two eminent Oriental ecclesiastics was marked with great cordiality. After a short conversation, the Patriarchs, accompanied by the Bishops and others, proceeded to the Cathedral, where a short service of intercession and prayer was held.

It is a matter for much thankfulness that the Patriarchate of Photius has commenced under such auspices of friendship and goodwill between himself and Cyril. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that there has never been a period, since the separation after the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D., when the relations between the Coptic and Greek Churches were more cordial and fraternal than at the present time.

A striking illustration of this is to be found in the fact that, in the summer of 1900, the Patriarch Cyril sent two of the most intelligent and learned monks belonging to his communion, to study theology at the seminary of Athens. This is quite a new departure, and we believe that it will have wide and far-reaching results in the strengthening of the faith of Christ in Egypt.

It is generally believed, by those who are best qualified to form an opinion, that the Copts would be by no means

averse to any alliance that would not interfere with their complete independence, and would not involve any withdrawal of their members into the communion of another branch of the Catholic Church.

On the new Anglican Bishop for Egypt will be laid the great responsibility of dealing with the existing situation. If he thoroughly realises the importance, to the future of the Church of Christ in Egypt, of fostering the mutual feelings of friendliness, and the mutual desire for some measure of alliance between the two representatives of Oriental Christianity, and the only Western branch of the Catholic Church which understands and appreciates the historic value of the position, he may be permitted, under the Divine guidance, to lay the foundations of a vast movement for the extension of Christ's kingdom throughout Northern Africa. Bu he will require the exercise of tact, of humility, of unwearying patience; and he must be prepared to modify and adapt his Western ideas to the needs and problems that contact with Orientals will be continually bringing before him for solution.

(A) Churches.

The Greek Church in Egypt possesses a number of churches, of which the following are the most important:

In Alexandria there are—

1. *The Church of the Evangelismos*, which is the Cathedral of the Patriarch. It is a large church, and was erected some fifty or sixty years ago. It is served by one Archimandrite, three priests, and a deacon.

2. *The Church of St. Saba*, adjoining the Patriarchate, which stands in a narrow street near the Rue de la Porte de Rosetta. To this church are attached an Archimandrite, a priest, a deacon, and a sub-deacon.

3. *The Church of the* Κοίμησις,[1] dedicated to the Holy Virgin, the ecclesiastical establishment of which consists of an Archimandrite, a presbyter, and a deacon.

4. *The Cemetery Chapel,* also called Κοίμησις, which is served by one priest.

5. *The Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary,* which is a Syrian Orthodox Greek Church. There are two priests attached to this church, and they hold mixed Arabic and Greek services.

In Ramleh—about five or six miles east of Alexandria—there are—

1. *The Church of the Prophet Elias,* with one priest and one deacon.

2. *The Church of St. Stephanos* (from which the suburb of San Stefano takes its name), with one priest.

At Ibrahimiyeh—about two miles east of Alexandria, on the way to Ramleh—is

The Church of St. Nicola, with one priest.

These are the Greek churches in Alexandria and the neighbourhood, with the number of clergy attached to each.

In Cairo there is—

1. *The Cathedral of St. Nichola,* adjoining the Patriarchate, which is situated eastward of the Esbekiyeh gardens, on the way to the Mosque el Azhar. The church presents no special feature of interest, and the Patriarchate is a plain, unpretentious building. Here there are one Archimandrite, three priests, and a deacon.

2. *The Church of St. Mark,* with one priest and one deacon.

3. *The Church of St. George,* between Cairo and Old Cairo, with one priest and one deacon.

[1] Pronounced "keemisis," i.e., "repose."

In Old Cairo there are—

1. *The Convent of St. George*, with an Archimandrite, a priest, and a deacon attached to it. It is situated just within the fortress of Babylon, and stands on the top of the tower on the west side.

2. *The Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, which is small but interesting.

In the interior of Egypt, in addition to the above-mentioned, there are about twenty other churches, each served by a priest and a deacon. Wherever there is a small colony of Greeks—and they are scattered about in the villages all along the valley of the Nile—there are churches or chapels, according to the number and importance of the colony.

In other parts of North Africa there are Greek (Orthodox) churches at the following places: Tennis, Sphax, Benghazi, Tripoli, and at Keren on the Red Sea.

(b) Schools.

The educational provision for Greek children in Egypt is, on the whole, sufficient to meet the needs of the community. But there is a considerable number of private schools, kept and supported by Greek laymen, which are not in any way under the direction of the ecclesiastical authorities, and on this account it is a matter of great difficulty to obtain reliable statistics.

In *Alexandria* there is a large boys' school, which is connected with the Church of the Evangelismos. It is attended by from twelve to thirteen hundred scholars, and has a staff of twenty teachers. The girls' school has nearly a thousand pupils, with fifteen mistresses.

There are also six schools, belonging to private individuals, which accommodate about eight hundred pupils, who receive instruction from fifteen teachers.

At *Ramleh*, there are two Church schools, with nearly six hundred boys and girls, and twenty masters and mistresses.

In *Cairo* there is a flourishing boys' school, under the ecclesiastical authorities, with a thousand pupils, and twenty teachers; and a girls' school, with six hundred girls, and fifteen mistresses.

Most of the children who receive instruction are poor, and the parents are unable to contribute much towards the maintenance of the schools, the main cost of which falls upon the revenues of the Church.

(c) Ecclesiastical Establishment.

The Greek (Orthodox) Patriarch of Egypt is Photius, who was formerly Metropolitan of Nazareth. He succeeded Sophronius (who died in 1899 A.D., at the age of a hundred), in 1900 A.D.

The full style and title of the Greek Patriarch is: "The most blessed and holy Pope and Patriarch of the great city Alexandria, and of all Egypt, Pentapolis, Libya, and Ethiopia; Father of Fathers, Pastor of Pastors, Archpriest of Archpriests, Thirteenth Apostle and Œcumenical Judge."

In addition to the Patriarch, there are the following ecclesiastical dignitaries:

The Metropolitan of the Thebaid .	Germanos Vourlalidis.
The Metropolitan of the Tripolitan in Africa	Theophanos Moschonas.
The Archbishop of Hierapolis .	Theophanos Papadopoulos.

The latter, with whom I had a long conversation when I called at the Patriarchate in Cairo (the Patriarch had not then come into residence), belongs really to the Patriarchate

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[1] See p. 222.

of Jerusalem, but is now, provisionally, "Director of the Patriarchate at Cairo." [1]

These prelates, one of whom is appointed to act as Vicar-General, constitute the hierarchy of the Greek Church in Egypt, there being no Bishops in the country districts. When any episcopal acts are required among the congregations south of Cairo, one of the Metropolitans undertakes the duty.

List of Patriarchs of Alexandria.

Enquiry at the Greek Patriarchate in Alexandria elicited the fact that there exist some records of the Patriarchs, being mere lists of names, but with many breaks, and there is considerable uncertainty in regard to long periods of time. Probably the archives for those periods have perished. When the Rev. E. J. Davis, English Chaplain at Alexandria, who was kind enough to make the request for information on my behalf, asked for the lists, such as they were, the Archdeacon informed him that the Patriarch Photius had not arrived from Constantinople to take up his residence, and that it would not be possible to give the particulars without his authority.

The following catalogue of Patriarchs, which is possibly not absolutely accurate, has been compiled from the best authorities at home.[2]

The first twenty-five Patriarchs are the same as those appearing under the statistics of the Coptic Church,[3] as the separation did not take place until after the deposition of Dioscorus by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D.

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[1] It should be borne in mind that there is no Greek Patriarchate in Cairo, Photius being Patriarch of Alexandria.

[2] See Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, vol. ii. pp. 386 ff., compared with Neale's Holy Eastern Church.

[3] See p. 218.

	A.D.
26. Proterius	452
27. Timothy Salofaciolus	460
28. John Talaia	482
29. Paul	539
30. Zoilus	541
31. Apollinaris	550
32. John I.	568
33. Eulogius I.	579
34. Theodore Scribo	607
35. St. John the Almoner	609
36. George	621
37. Cyrus	630
38. Peter II.	643

(After the death of Peter, in 654 A.D., the Patriarchate was vacant for over 70 years.)

39. Cosmas I.	727
40. Politianus	775
41. Eustathius	801
42. Christopher	805
43. Sophronius I.	836
44. Michael I.	859
45. Michael II.	872
46. Christodoulos	906
47. Eutychius	933
48. Sophronius II.	940
49. Isaac	?
50. Job	?
51. Elias	968
52. Arsenius	?
53. Theophilus (or George)	1015
54. Alexander II. (or Leontius)	1055
55. John III.	1060
56. Sabas	?
57. Theodosius	?
58. Cyril II.	?
59. Eulogius II.	1120
60. Sophronius III.	1160
61. Elias	?
62. Marcus II.	1190
63. Nicholas I.	1200
64. Gregory I.	1230
65. Nicholas II.	1243
66. Athanasius III.	1265
67. Gregory II.	1310
68. Gregory III.	1350
69. Niphon	1365
70. Marcus III.	?
71. Nicholas III.	?
72. Gregory IV.	?
73. Philotheus I.	1436
74. Athanasius IV.	?
75. Marcus IV.	?
76. Philotheus II.	1520
77. Gregory V.	?
78. Joachim I.	1560
79. Silvester	1570
80. Meletius	1594
81. Cyril Lucar	1602
82. Gerasimus I.	1621
83. Metrophanes	1636
84. Nicephorus	1639
85. Joannicius	1643
86. Joachim II.	1665
87. Paisius	1670
88. Parthenius I.	1680
89. Gerasimus II.	1689
90. Samuel	1710
91. Cosmas II.	1724
92. Cosmas III.	1737
93. Matthew	1746
94. Cyprian	1766
95. Gerasimus III.	1783
96. Parthenius II.	1788
97. Theophilus II.	1805

	A.D.		A.D.
98. Hierotheus of Thessaly . .	1825	99. Artemius . .	1845

[NOTE.—Artemius was chosen, but was not acknowledged as canonical, and in his stead was]

100. Hierotheus II. of Siphnos . .	1847	103. Nicanor of Macedon . .	1866
101. Kallinicus of Thessaly .	1858	104. Sophronius IV. of Byzantium .	1870
102. Jacobus II. of Patmos . .	1861	105. Photius I. . .	1900

The *Number of Orthodox Greek Christians* in Egypt is, as nearly as can be ascertained with accuracy, about 50,000. They are the most numerous of any Christian bodies except the Copts, and are for the most part traders and merchants.

CHAPTER III.

The Roman Catholic (Uniat) Church.

The "Uniat" Churches of the East were formed on the basis of the "Unia," which was adopted towards the close of the sixteenth century, and for a considerable time affected mainly the Holy Eastern Church.

Sigismund III., King of Poland, was a member of the Roman Church, and a zealous patron of the Jesuits. Although bound, by the terms agreed upon at the Diet of Lublin, to protect the Orthodox Greek Church, he used all his influence to win over the nobles and aristocracy to the Roman communion, and filled the Lithuanian Sees with princes who were in sympathy with his views. The Orthodox prelates and clergy were, on the one hand, persecuted by the Government, and on the other accused by the mass of the people (who were devotedly attached to their own faith) of lukewarmness in resisting the aggressions of the Jesuits.

The Greek Patriarch Jeremias, travelling through the southern and western parts of Russia at that time, deposed Onesiphorus, Metropolitan of Kiev, on the ground that, contrary to the canons, he had been twice married, and appointed Michael Ragoza as his successor, instructing him to convene a synod for the reform of the Church. But Ragoza was a weak man, and was dissuaded from carrying out the Patriarch's orders by Cyril Terlecki, Bishop of Luck, in Volhynia. Terlecki had been irregularly consecrated, and was, moreover, a man of profligate life, who was well aware that a reforming Synod would have little difficulty in exposing his misdemeanours and hypocrisy. In conjunction with a man like-minded with himself, Ignatius Pociej,

Bishop of Vladimir, he became the author, in 1595 A.D., of the "Unia," the object of which was to bring about a union between the Greek and Roman churches, on the basis of the retention by the former of their doctrines and ritual, including the omission from the Nicene Creed of the Filioque clause, and the retention by the clergy of the permission to marry, on condition that the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome was universally acknowledged. Pope Clement VIII. eagerly accepted the proposal, which was ratified by Sigismund, who endeavoured to enforce it upon his people. But the aged Constantine, Prince of Ostrog, summoned a Synod, which anathematised the apostates from the Orthodox Church; and, at his request, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Matthew by name, despatched Nicephorus and Cyril Lucar as delegates to attend the Synod of Brzesc, which had been convened by Sigismund in favour of the Unia. Their opposition was so determined that Cyril barely escaped with his life, and Nicephorus was strangled.

A systematic persecution of those who remained true to the Orthodox Church was immediately set on foot. "The ancient Liturgies were mutilated; horrible atrocities were perpetrated against the orthodox, their churches were farmed out to Jews, and many priests were baked or roasted alive, or torn to pieces with iron instruments."[1] The efforts of the Jesuits to extend the Unia continued, with increasing success, for nearly two hundred years, until, when Poland reverted to the Russian Empire under Catherine II. (about the year 1770 A.D.), between two and three millions returned to the communion of the Orthodox Greek Church; and an equal number, including three Bishops, were received into her communion in 1839 A.D.

The Roman Catholic Uniat Church in Egypt was established about one hundred and fifty years ago, but the num-

[1] Neale, Introd. to Hist. of Holy Eastern Church, vol. i. p. 56.

bers are very small, the Coptic Uniats at the last census being 4600, while the Greek (Melchite) Uniats are probably not more than about eight thousand.

The Melchite Uniats have a Patriarch residing in Alexandria, Peter Garagiri IV., whose title is "Patriarch of Jerusalem and Alexandria." Under him is the "Bishop of Jerusalem," who acts as Vicar-General, and their jurisdiction is confined to the two churches of Sainte Vierge and St. Peter. In Cairo they have a Bishop who represents the Patriarch, and the three churches of Sainte Vierge, St. George, and St. Elie, which are served by a sufficient number of priests.

The Coptic Uniats are not represented in Alexandria, but in Cairo they have a Patriarch, Amba Cyril Macaire, a Vicar-General, and two Bishops. They possess a cathedral, situated to the south of Abdin Palace, and the churches of St. Anthony and Sainte Vierge, besides a small church in Old Cairo. A school for boys is attached to the Patriarchate.

Among the Uniat Churches in Egypt must be mentioned the Maronites. *The Maronites*, who are the sole remnant of the heretical sect of the Monothelites,[1] derive their name from their first Patriarch, Maro, who was consecrated, about 700 A.D., by some of the episcopal supporters of Macarius, the Monothelite Patriarch of Antioch.[2] Maro won over the monks of the monastery of Mount Lebanon, where the Maronites, who may be regarded more as a nation than a religious community, have ever since established themselves. They maintained their independence when Syria was conquered by the Mohammedans, and a traveller,[3] in 1811 A.D., writes that in his time Mount Lebanon was wholly inhabited by Christians, who do not allow the Moslems to settle there,

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[1] See p. 45.
[2] He was deposed by the sixth Œcumenical Council.
[3] Dr. Pinkerton, Travels, vol. x. p. 479.

nor do they ever permit the Pasha to ascend to the hills. In 1182 A.D., when the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was established, the Maronites renounced the Monothelite heresy, and the entire body acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, retaining the use of the Syrian Missal, marriage of their priests, and the independent election of their own Patriarch. In 1445 A.D., they entered into a formal act of union with the Roman Church, and in 1736 A.D., they subscribed the decrees of the Council of Trent. They number over 200,000, and, in addition to their Patriarch, who resides at the Convent of Kennobin, on Mount Lebanon, they have eight Bishops, with Sees at Aleppo, Tripoli, Byblus, Heliopolis, Damascus, Beyrout, Cyprus, and Tyre and Sidon.

The Maronites have three resident priests in Alexandria, who serve at the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In Cairo they have the Church of St. George, and the Church of Sainte Vierge, with two priests. They also carry on a school for girls, and they have a small chapel (St. Elie) in Old Cairo. The number of Maronites in Egypt is not large, and is slowly decreasing.

The Armenian Uniat Church was first formed after the Council of Florence in 1439 A.D., when a considerable body of members of the Armenian Church gave in their submission to the Papal authority. It is difficult to state, with any accuracy, when the Uniat-Armenians were first found in Egypt. They have one priest in Alexandria, who serves at the Church of Notre Dame de l'Immaculée Conception; while in Cairo they possess the Cathedral of St. Gregoire, to which one priest is attached, and the Chapel of Sainte Vierge in Old Cairo. They form a very small minority of the Armenians resident in Egypt.

CHAPTER IV.

The Anglican Church in Egypt.

(a) Bishop Blyth's Administration.

In the year 1841 A.D. an Anglican Bishopric was founded at Jerusalem. The history of this arrangement is of some interest. The proposal was suggested by the Lutheran King of Prussia, who made it the subject of a special mission to the Queen of England, and of a particular communication to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Howley. His Majesty offered to make a donation of £15,000, yielding an income of £600 a year, for the support of the Bishop, who was to be nominated alternately by the Crowns of England and Prussia, the Archbishop of Canterbury having an absolute right of veto. A special Act of Parliament[1] was passed, on October 5, 1841 A.D., called the Jerusalem Bishopric Act (under which most of the Anglican missionary Bishops are consecrated), empowering the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, assisted by other Bishops, to consecrate British subjects, or the subjects or citizens of any foreign kingdom or State, to be Bishops in any foreign country, and, within certain limits, to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the ministers of British congregations of the United Church of England and Ireland, and over such other Protestant congregations as may be desirous of placing themselves under the authority of such Bishops. The prelate so appointed was to be subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury as Metropolitan.[2] In the first section of the Act it is laid down that the Bishop was "to establish and maintain, as far as in him lies, relations of Christian charity with other Churches represented at Jerusalem, and in particular with the Orthodox Greek

[1] 5 Vict. cap. 6.

[2] See Fowler's "Some Notable Archbishops of Canterbury," p. 147.

Church; taking care that the Church of England does not wish to disturb, or divide, or interfere with them, but that she is ready, in the spirit of Christian love, to render them such offices of friendship as they may be willing to receive."

The jurisdiction of the Bishop included the whole of Egypt, with the Soudan, and the whole of Abyssinia.

The arrangement, however, was an eminently unsatisfactory one. The combination of Anglicanism and Lutheranism was totally unworkable, and, in spite of the wishes of our ecclesiastical authorities at home, the mission was so conducted that, by petty aggressions, it excited the indignation and contempt of the Oriental prelates. Accordingly, on the death of Bishop Barclay, in 1881 A.D., the British Crown declined to appoint, and the Bishopric lapsed.

Four years later, at the request of the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, the scheme was revived as an independent Anglican Bishopric. The Greek Church had learnt to understand and appreciate the attitude of the Church of England, and to recognise that her desire was to promote sentiments of brotherly esteem between the two Churches, and not to weaken, by proselytising efforts, the Orthodox Church. In 1887, Dr. Popham Blyth was consecrated by Archbishop Benson, in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, to be Bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem and the East. By the Queen's Letters Patent, the jurisdiction of the new Bishop (so far as the African portion was concerned) was to extend throughout Egypt and the Soudan, and over both sides of the littoral of the Red Sea, but Abyssinia was withdrawn. The episcopal stipend was provided, partly from an endowment fund, and partly from allowances made by our Church Societies.

It is only natural that Bishop Blyth should have regarded it as his duty to devote his primary efforts and energies to the work in Palestine, where he has done so much, not only in providing for the educational requirements of the Jewish and other children, but in cultivating those friendly

relations with the Oriental Churches which are so important for the future of Christianity in the East. "Owing to his unobtrusive and sympathetic character," writes Mr. Hore,[1] "the Greek and Syrian Churches have learnt to understand and welcome the English Church; to regard us as, in a manner which no other Church does, sympathising with their difficulties; and even to expect that the richer Church of England may give some substantial help, which they cannot afford themselves."

The Bishop's work and influence in Egypt have been devoted to providing religious ministrations for members of the Anglican Church, by consecrating churches that have been built, by holding confirmations, and by organizing chaplaincies wherever they are needed, and finding suitable men for these posts. On the occasions of his brief sojourn in Egypt, he has paid visits to the Coptic and Greek Patriarchs, and has strengthened the bonds of good feeling and brotherhood, and removed those sentiments of suspicion and distrust which had been engendered by the proselytising efforts of other Western Christians.

This is no slight task to have successfully accomplished within a period of thirteen years, and the extension of the work, which has led Bishop Blyth to advocate the establishment of an independent Bishopric for Egypt, is due, in great measure, to the energy with which he has discharged his episcopal duties in that country.

(B) Anglican Chaplaincies in Egypt.

The enormous increase in the number of visitors to Egypt, during the past twenty years, has made it a matter of considerable difficulty for our ecclesiastical authorities to provide adequate ministrations for the members of the Anglican communion, who constitute the vast majority of the thousands that annually make a tour to the Nile valley. Wherever it is found practicable, a season chaplain is arranged

[1] Hore's Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church, p. 683.

for, so that during the few months from November to March, those who are at Helouan, Mena House, Ramleh, Assiout, Luxor, &c., are fortunate in having the opportunity of receiving the Holy Communion, and of joining in the services of mattins and evensong on Sundays and Holy-days.

But it must not be forgotten that Egypt is not merely the holiday resort of the tourist. At Alexandria and at Cairo, and in a lesser degree at Suez and Port Said, and at Ramleh and Assouan, there is a large resident population of English Churchmen, and it is due to their energy and liberality, rather than to the generosity of those at home, that the provision of the means of worship is as ample as we find it to-day.

A brief sketch of the history of each of the chaplaincies is appended, which will prove of interest to those who care for, and appreciate, the work of the Anglican Church among our fellow-Churchmen in distant lands.

List of Anglican Chaplaincies in Egypt.

1.—*Permanent Chaplaincies.*

Place.	Church.	Source of Income.	Patron.
Alexandria	St. Mark's Church[1]	Endowment	Trustees.
Ramleh	All Saints' Church[1]	Offertories	Chaplain of St. Mark's, Alexandria.
Cairo	All Saints' Church[1]	Endowment and Offertories	Trustees.
,,	St. Mary's Mission Chapel[2]	Bishop Blyth's Fund	The Bishop.
Port Said	Epiphany Church[1]	Allowance from Admiralty, and Grant from St. Andrew Waterside Mission	The Bishop and the St. Andrew Waterside Mission.
Assouan	St. Mark's Church[1]	Offertories	S.P.G.
Suez	Church Room[2]	Offertories	The Bishop.

[1] These Churches are consecrated.

[2] These buildings are licensed for Divine worship.

2.—*Season Chaplaincies.*

Place.	Church.	Source of Income.	Patron.
Ghizeh (The Pyramids)	Mena House Hotel Chapel[2]	Offertories . .	Mrs. Locke-King.
Helouan . .	Grand Hotel . . .	Offertories . .	The Bishop.
Assiout . .	New Hotel	Offertories . .	C. and C. C. S.
Luxor . .	Luxor Hotel . . .	Offertories . .	Mr. J. M. Cook.

1. *St. Mark's Church, Alexandria.*

The Anglican Church of St. Mark in Alexandria was commenced in 1839 A.D., the foundation-stone having been laid on December 17th of that year; but, owing to various difficulties, it was not completed for more than fifteen years, the consecration of the sacred edifice having been performed by Bishop Gobat in April, 1855 A.D.

The site of the church was given by His Highness Mohammed Ali (Pasha of Egypt from 1803 to 1848 A.D.),[1] to be held in perpetuity by the local Anglican episcopal community in Alexandria, for the purposes of religious worship. The money required for the erection of the church was mainly contributed by successive generations of British residents, aided by grants from Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and from the Indian Government.

The Church of St. Mark is possessed of considerable endowments in land, which will ultimately increase enormously in value. The amount at present available as endowment is derived from the ground-rents payable by the St. Mark's Buildings Association, Ltd., on a pile of buildings erected on the eastern portion of the Church land, which the Association holds under a fifty years' lease, granted in 1875 A.D. It is estimated that, when the lease expires, in 1925 A.D., the revenue from the property will be increased from £700 per annum to about £4000 a year. The ground-rents are received by Trustees, and are devoted by them to the maintenance of the church, and to the stipend of the chaplain.

[1] See p. 127.

The number of resident Anglicans in Alexandria varies much from year to year, and has considerably diminished of late, owing to the great competition in business and commerce—the nationalities which are growing in numbers being Jews, Greeks, and Germans. The services at St. Mark's are attended by a small proportion of the English garrison, the majority of whom worship in the military chapel attached to the barracks, which are some four miles outside the town.

The Rev. E. J. Davis, who became Chaplain of St. Mark's in 1862, is well known and universally respected by all the members of the Anglican community who claim his ministrations. He is untiring in the discharge of his parochial duties, which include, in addition to the conduct of the services, and the various organizations connected with the church, the regular visiting of the patients in the hospital. But, besides this, he acts as a Poor Law relieving officer, being responsible for the distribution of a fund which is raised by annual subscriptions, supplemented by a small grant from the Foreign Office, for the relief of distressed British subjects. It can well be understood that the difficulty of discriminating between really deserving cases, and the numerous applications of unworthy people and impostors, involves a vast amount of trouble and investigation.

The patronage of St. Mark's Church is vested in the Trustees, appointed by the leading Anglican residents in Alexandria, who must be regular attendants at the services, and duly qualified.

Mr. Davis is engaged in the preparation of a history of St. Mark's Church, which will shortly be published.

2. *All Saints' Church, Ramleh.*

Ramleh is a favourite and attractive suburb of Alexandria, from which it is about four miles distant. It is celebrated for its equable climate, and is the popular summer resort of those residents in Egypt who are not fortunate enough to be able to spend their holidays in Europe.

Ever since the place first began to attract a number of English families, Divine service has been conducted there on Sundays. For many years the only building available was a small room, in which evensong, followed by a sermon, was sung by the Rev. E. J. Davis, chaplain of St. Mark's Church at Alexandria.

At length, some ten or twelve years ago, it was decided to build a permanent church. A suitable site was presented by a former resident, while the necessary funds for defraying the cost of erection were raised, partly in Alexandria, and partly in England. The greater portion, as well as the entire burden of providing a substantial and commodious parsonage house, was borne by Mr. G. B. Alderson, who is a strong Churchman, and takes an active interest in all that concerns the welfare of the Anglican communion in Egypt.

The Church of All Saints was commenced in 1890, and the following year was consecrated, free of debt, by Bishop Blyth. It is a handsome building, and the internal decoration is rich, and in good taste.

There is a small endowment of £600, which is invested. Of this sum, £500 was given by Mr. G. B. Alderson, and £100 by another resident. The congregation guarantee a stipend of £300 a year to the chaplain, besides contributing generously towards the expenses of maintaining the church and the services.

The first chaplain appointed after the consecration of the church was the Rev. T. R. Lawrence, who officiated from 1891 to 1897. During the next three years the duties were

divided between the Rev. A. Boddy and the Rev. W. B. Blake. The latter resigned the duties of his position in the spring of 1900, and for six months the services were taken by some of the C.M.S. clergy stationed in Cairo. In November, 1900, the Rev. A. Harbord, who had for several years acted as assistant chaplain to Dean Butcher at All Saints', Cairo, was appointed to the charge of Ramleh.

The patronage of All Saints', Ramleh, is vested in the hands of the Chaplain of St. Mark's, Alexandria.

3. *All Saints' Church, Cairo.*

Mention has been made above[1] of the labours of the Rev. J. R. T. Lieder, who, for nearly forty years, represented the Church Missionary Society, and carried on the work which it commenced in Egypt in 1819. During his residence in Cairo (and until his death in 1865), Mr. Lieder was in the habit of holding the services on Sundays in a small room, which has since been pulled down, near the Coptic Cathedral. It was here that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales worshipped, when he visited Egypt in 1862. Dean Stanley, who accompanied the Prince, was struck by the inadequacy of the arrangements for public worship, and suggested that a fund should be raised for the erection of a permanent church.

It was not, however, until 1871 that steps were taken to carry the scheme into effect, the services in the meantime being held by season chaplains at the New Hotel (now the Grand Hotel Continental). In that year, a meeting of residents and visitors was called together by the then Consul-General, General Stanton. In 1873 the foundation-stone of All Saints' Church was laid by the late Duke of Sutherland, and in 1876 the church was consecrated by Dr. Gobat, Bishop of Jerusalem. Owing to the increase in the number of residents, which succeeded the British occupation, as well as in the number of annual visitors, the church was enlarged in 1891 by the addition of the aisles, and it will not be long before it will be necessary to provide additional accommodation for those who flock to the services, Sunday after Sunday, throughout the winter.

The church can hold 450 persons, and one-half of the seats are appropriated for the use of residents. The walls are adorned with numerous tablets and brasses, commemorating

[1] See p. 130.

General Gordon and others, as well as the officers and men of different regiments who fell during the various campaigns in Egypt and the Soudan. The altar rails were the gift of Lady Stewart, in memory of her gallant husband, Sir Herbert Stewart, who died in 1885 of wounds received at the battle of Abu-Klea.

Since the year 1882, the Very Reverend C. H. Butcher, D.D., who was for many years Dean of Shanghai, has been chaplain of All Saints'. The services are regularly held throughout the year, and thus the aid of an assistant chaplain is necessary, more especially as Dr. Butcher visits the various hospitals in the town, and is indefatigable in his ministrations to the sick. His unwearied devotion to his work, combined with his geniality and tact, have greatly endeared him to his congregation and parishioners, and his advice on various matters is constantly sought by the visitors to Cairo.

The patronage of All Saints' is in the gift of a committee, of which Lord Cromer is President.

4. *Epiphany Church, Port Said.*

At the end of the year 1881 A.D., in consequence of the fact that numerous reports had been received, by the ecclesiastical authorities at home, of the spiritual destitution at Port Said—which, owing to the increase of traffic through the Suez Canal, was rapidly becoming a place of great commercial and international importance—an application was made to the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem,[1] by the Rev. Canon Scarth, for permission to take up pastoral work among the sailors on the Suez Canal, and to minister to the English residents in Port Said, in the hope that, if the work proved successful, a permanent chaplain might eventually be appointed. The application was favourably received by the Bishop, and soon afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury issued to the applicant a sort of roving commission, empowering him to carry on work among the British residents abroad, which, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, proved to be of great value.

Through the exertions of Canon Scarth, a temporary church was opened a few months later at Port Said, and a valuable grant of land was obtained from His Highness the Khedive and the Suez Canal Company, for the erection of an English church and hospital. Arrangements were also made for the holding of a monthly service, with a celebration of the Holy Communion, at Suez.

The church at Port Said was built with the least possible delay, and was consecrated, as the Church of the Epiphany, in the year 1889 A.D. It is in the Byzantine style of architecture, and has the appearance of a mosque. It is supported by a grant of £100 a year from the St. Andrew's Waterside Mission, which was given on condition that the chaplain (who ministers to the patients in the hospital) visits

[1] Dr. Barclay.

the sailors on board the vessels entering the port, whenever practicable. The residents also contribute £150 a year towards his stipend, and the Jerusalem and the East Mission Fund makes an annual grant of £25. The work has been admirably carried on, since 1882 A.D., by the Rev. F. W. A. Strange, of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury.

Soon after the erection of the church, the *Hospital* was completed. The original idea was to found the hospital as a national memorial to the late General Gordon; but, when upwards of £17,000 had been subscribed through the Lord Mayor's appeal, the Mansion House Committee altered the plan, in favour of a memorial in England instead of in Egypt, and the Gordon Boys' Home was the outcome of the movement. It is well known that Gordon had always taken a special interest in poor lads, and it is worth recording that he had, for some years, taught in a night school, in conjunction with Canon Scarth, in the parish of the latter at Gravesend.

The decision of the Mansion House Committee necessarily made it extremely difficult to raise the required sum for the original object at Port Said. But the need of a good hospital for sailors, passengers, and others—midway between England and the East, as well as Australia—was urgent, and, with the encouraging help of the late Viscountess Strangford,[1] the efforts of Canon Scarth and others were successful in procuring sufficient money to provide accommodation for thirty patients, with a resident English doctor and four nurses. About 3000 people have passed through this excellent institution, and an incalculable amount of good has been done.

The general management is in the hands of an influential committee in England, working in conjunction with

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[1] It is called the "Lady Strangford Hospital," in memory of that lady, who died on her way out to Egypt to open it on its completion.

a Local Board of Visitors (of which Mr. Strange is Hon. Secretary), elected from among the principal residents at Port Said.

The income is about £2000 a year, a considerable portion of which is derived from the voluntary gifts of those ship-owners whose steamers pass through the Suez Canal.

The number of resident Anglicans in Port Said is about 120, and the number of communicants at Easter, 1900 A.D., was forty-one.

5. *Assouan Church and Mission.*

Assouan, at the foot of the first cataract, has long been a spot well known to Egyptian tourists, but it is only within recent years that it has become the home of resident Englishmen. It was in 1896 A.D. that the first chaplain was sent for the winter, the services being held in a room of the hotel. The chaplain was the Rev. Beresford Potter, who, in conjunction with the late Colonel Esdaile, set on foot a movement for the erection of a church. Bishop Blyth's sanction and encouragement were obtained, and the scheme was warmly supported in England by Lord Wantage and Lord Montagu of Beaulieu. Owing to the commencement of the large Nile dam (at which many hundreds of people are at work under the direction of Sir Benjamin Baker, K.C.M.G., the able civil engineer), and the steadily increasing number of visitors to Egypt, the railway has been extended from Luxor to Assouan, and two new hotels have sprung up at the latter place, thus rendering it imperative to erect a permanent stone church.

The foundation-stone of the sacred edifice was laid by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught in February, 1899 A.D., and arrangements were made for the consecration of the church in January, 1900 A.D. Certain difficulties and delays, in regard to the construction, rendered this impossible, but the consecration was only postponed till the following season. Her Majesty the Queen has presented a handsome font; Mrs. Webb has given a lectern; while the marble floor to the chancel was the gift of Colonel Esdaile.

It has been arranged that the chaplaincy, which has been placed under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, shall be a permanent one; and, in connection with the church, a mission school is to be founded for work among the native girls.

The effort will be carried out on non-proselytising lines, the moral and spiritual improvement of the children being the principal aim of those connected with the scheme. On this foundation it is hoped and believed that a superstructure of Christian faith will be built up, which will be more lasting in its results than premature enforcement of the truths of Christianity on the Moslems.

The Mission work will be carried on in harmony with the authorities of the Coptic Church, and no secessions of Copts to Anglicanism will be countenanced.

In addition to the above, it may be added that permanent churches in connection with two other chaplaincies will, it is hoped, shortly be erected.

At *Suez*, a permanent chaplain has been working since 1896 A.D. The residents have secured the approval of Bishop Blyth for the proposed erection of a church, which is much needed at this important and growing centre of commercial activity.

At *Helouan*, which is yearly becoming more popular, both among the residents in, and visitors to, Cairo, as a suburban resort, the scheme for a church has been warmly taken up, and will shortly be brought to a successful issue.

(c) Anglican Missions in Egypt.

1. *The Church Missionary Society.*

The operations of the Church Missionary Society in Egypt date back to the year 1815, when the Rev. W. Jowett visited the country to enquire into the condition of the Coptic Church, and to confer with the Patriarch as to the means by which the Society could render its aid to the native Christians. Mr. Jowett's visit was repeated in 1819, and in 1820, and again in 1823, on which occasions he had much intercourse with the ecclesiastical authorities on the spot, although it does not appear that this was productive of any practical results.

His reports, however, led to the sending out by the Society, in the latter part of the year 1825, of five missionaries, including Gobat (who was afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem), Lieder, Muller, Kruse, and Kugler. Gobat and Kugler went on to Abyssinia,[1] while the others travelled up and down the Nile, visiting the Coptic schools, and distributing portions of the Scriptures. Subsequently, they opened schools in Cairo, including a "Coptic Seminary," the special purpose of which was to educate Coptic boys, with a view to preparing them for ordination to the priesthood of their own Church. One of these was selected by the Patriarch, at the early age of twenty-one, to be Abuna of Abyssinia. But the difficulties which confronted the representatives of the Society, in their efforts to bring about the "self-reformation of the Coptic Church," were very great; and, although Mr. Lieder remained at his post until shortly before his death in 1865, the Mission gradually died down, and was closed in the year 1862.

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[1] See p. 180.

For the next twenty years, the Church Missionary Society, owing to the extension of its operations in other lands, was unable to apply itself to the spiritual needs of Egypt. But, in 1882—partly in response to appeals from Miss Whately, towards whose schools the Society had made several annual grants, and partly on account of the increased influence of England in the country, resulting from the military campaign—the Society determined to start a second Egypt Mission, the special purpose of which was the evangelization of the Mohammedans. Accordingly, in December of that year, the Rev. F. A. Klein, who had been working as a C.M.S. missionary in Palestine for over a quarter of a century, was sent to Cairo, and laid the foundations of the present work. A Medical Mission was opened in 1889, and ladies were added to the staff in the following year.

The work of the Society[1] is divided between Cairo and Old Cairo.

(*a*) In *Cairo* there are two schools. The Boys' School (in Sharia Mohammed Ali) is a day school, at which there is an average attendance of 129 scholars. Of these the proportion is about one-third Copts, one-third Mohammedans, and one-third Syrians, Jews, Armenians, &c. The Girls' School (in the Bab-el-Luk district) takes 46 boarders.

The mission staff in Cairo consists of three clergymen, one lady evangelist, four lady educationalists, two native catechists, eight native Christian school teachers, and one superintendent of the Bible and Book Depôt.

(*b*) In *Old Cairo* there are two day schools. The Boys' School has 89 scholars, and the Girls' School 62. There is also the Hospital, in which nearly 500 surgical and medical cases were treated, and the Dispensary, to which some 17,000 visits were paid by natives, during the year.

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[1] These statistics are from the returns for 1899.

The mission staff in Old Cairo consists of one clergyman, two doctors, three nurses, one lady evangelist, one lady educationalist, one native catechist, six native Christian school teachers, one native doctor, and two native dispensers.

The number of conversions to the Church of England recorded during the year, were: of the Moslems, two adults and four school pupils; of Copts, six children of native Christians.

The educational work among the women in the harems has prospered, and the prospects for the future are hopeful and encouraging.

One of the special aims of the Society is to obtain an influence, with a view to their conversion, over the students of the great Mohammedan University of El-Azhar, and to bring the younger men generally under the power of the Gospel.

I had much conversation with several members of the Mission during my recent visit to Cairo, and I found that, while the efforts of the C.M.S. in Egypt are directed towards winning Moslems to the Christian faith, there is no strong feeling against the admission of Copts to membership of the Church of England, although, so far as I could gather, no definite attempts at proselytising among native Christians are carried on; and I am glad to learn that there is no feeling of antagonism on the part of the Coptic ecclesiastical authorities towards the Society, which is doing an increasingly useful and noble work among the natives of Egypt.

2. *St. Mary's Mission, Cairo.*

This, which is primarily a mission to the Jews, was founded by Bishop Blyth in 1890. It was placed under the care of the Rev. Nasr Odeh, a Syrian by birth, who was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1879. He commenced the work in a house in the Sharia Abdel-Aziz, where a school was opened, and, later on, a dispensary. The Mission, for several years past, has been situated close to the headquarters of the Army of Occupation, but, in the autumn of 1900 A.D., it was transferred to the new buildings erected on the valuable site, in the Kasr-el-Dubbara quarter, which, through the kindness of Lord Cromer, was secured from the Egyptian Government at half the full price, on account of the educational value of the Mission work.

The attendance of children at the Boys' School numbered, in 1899, 150, and represented three different creeds, viz., Christian, Jewish, and Moslem. Among the Christians are Copts, Anglicans, Greeks, Armenians, and Roman Catholics. The Jews are of various nationalities, including English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Arab. It will thus be seen that the instruction of such a cosmopolitan collection of children is no easy task. The number comprising the Girls' School was fifty-three, who are almost entirely Jewesses by parentage, though, by persuasion, some are Christian and some are Mohammedan.

All the children join in daily mattins in the Mission chapel. Their presence is not compulsory at the services, though they are expected to attend the daily Scripture lesson. The Jewish children pay fees in accordance with

their means, the scale for other children being fixed. The average income received by the Mission from fees is about £500 a year.

The services in the Mission Chapel are open to all who like to attend. Celebrations of the Holy Communion are held every Sunday, on Thursdays, and on Holy Days, and on Sundays full mattins and evensong are sung, and a sermon preached at each service.

It should be added that, while every attempt is made by the Mission to win over the Jewish and Moslem children to the faith of Christ, those who are members of native Christian Churches—*e.g.*, the Coptic and Greek Orthodox Churches—are not permitted to become Anglicans.

(D) Influence of the Anglican Church in Egypt.

The position of the Anglican Church throughout the Patriarchate of Alexandria has, necessarily, been considerably altered since the military events of 1882 A.D. The British occupation of the country, and the powerful voice which England has in the management of the affairs of Egypt, have led to a large increase in the numbers of Englishmen resident in the various towns between the Mediterranean and the First Cataract. Many of these are employed under Government, while others are engaged in commercial pursuits.

It is inevitable, therefore, that the presence of so large a body of our fellow-countrymen should have an effect on the native population; and, it must be confessed, the influence of the English as a whole has not, from the moral, as distinguished from the political, point of view, been as beneficial to the people as we have a right to expect.

There is little doubt that the demoralisation of the Moslems, in regard especially to the question of alcohol-drinking,[1] commenced with the example set by the French, during the period when they were the main representatives in Egypt of Western civilisation. But, so far as it is possible to ascertain the true position of affairs, there is still much to be desired, in this connection, in reference to the personal and individual influence exercised by the British, both residents and visitors, who come in contact with the Arabs.

[1] It has been stated, on good authority, that nearly 75 per cent. of the Mohammedans in Cairo and Alexandria are in the habit of drinking wine and spirits, in direct contradiction of the teaching of the Koran.

Nor has the Church of England in the past availed herself of the grand opportunities that have been placed within her reach, for aiding and strengthening the native Christians. In another chapter[1] a brief sketch has been given of the efforts, made by Archdeacon Tattam and Mr. Grimshawe, to set on foot some permanent scheme for the better education and training of the clergy of the National Church of Egypt. A half-hearted attempt was made in this direction, but the interest soon died away, and it fell through for lack of funds.

In 1882 A.D. the Association for the Furtherance of Christianity in Egypt was formed in London. Three years later the Association founded the Gordon College, but this and subsequent schemes came to nothing, owing, in great measure, to the failure on the part of the Committee to appreciate the true position and status of the Coptic Church. They regarded it as an heretical sect, and yet endeavoured to secure the goodwill and support of the Patriarch.

The recent action of this Association, in voting a sum of £250 towards the erection of Coptic schools in Khartoum, has, however, done much to convince the ecclesiastical authorities on the spot of the real and practical friendship of the Anglican Church. The following quotations from the report[2] to the Committee, presented on June 26th, 1900 A.D., may be here appended:—

> "My mission was of a simple and definite character. A sum of £250 had been voted by the Committee for the purpose of rendering financial aid to the Coptic Schools in Cairo and throughout Lower and Upper Egypt, and I was desired to interview the authorities on the spot, and to make myself acquainted with the educational needs of the Church of Egypt, so that I might be in a position to offer certain recommendations to the Committee in regard to the allocation of the fund. . . . .

[1] See p. 129.

[2] See Report of a visit to the Coptic Church of Egypt, 1900, by the Rev. M. Fowler, published by the Association for the Furtherance of Christianity in Egypt.

"The investigations I made resulted in my coming to the conclusion that the £250 voted by the Association could not be usefully expended in grants towards the maintenance of existing schools in Cairo, which, however deficient in the quality of the religious instruction imparted, are at least well supported financially.

"I believe, however, that the Anglican Church would gain the everlasting gratitude of the Copts, and would prepare the way for the exercise of a wider sphere of influence in the future, if the grant of £250 were made towards the rebuilding of the Coptic Church and schools at Khartoum, in response to the earnest request of His Holiness the Patriarch, and of Sarapamoun, Bishop of Khartoum. In strongly recommending that this should be done, I am supported by the unanimous opinion of Lord Cromer, of Sir Francis Wingate, of Dean Butcher, and of others who are qualified to judge in the matter.

"I would only add the suggestion, that, should the Committee accept and act upon my report, the money should be given promptly, and that it should be sent direct to Lord Cromer, who would be willing to forward it to Sir Francis Wingate, to be handed over to the Bishop and expended as occasion requires."

These recommendations were carried out, and the money was forwarded to Lord Cromer by the Chairman, the Bishop of Salisbury, the following day.

The satisfaction given to the authorities of the Coptic Church by this practical evidence of sympathy and goodwill on the part of the above-mentioned Association, is shewn in a letter I received from the Patriarch Cyril, about a month later, which ran as follows:[1]—

"We, Cyril V., Pope and Patriarch of the City of Alexandria and all Egypt, Jerusalem, Nubia, Abyssinia, Pentapolis, and all the preaching of St. Mark, have pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your letter of

[1] This letter was written, in parallel columns, in English and Arabic.

the 28th June, 1900, informing us that the Association for the Furtherance of Christianity in Egypt has voted the sum of £250, to be offered to the Coptic Bishop of Khartoum in aid of the fund he is raising for the re-establishment of the schools destroyed by the Khalifa, and that our esteemed brother, the Bishop of Salisbury, has handed to H.E. the Sirdar a cheque for £250 for transmission to the Bishop of Khartoum.

"Will you kindly convey to the Bishop of Salisbury, in a special manner, and to the members of your Association in general, our grateful appreciation of this gift?

"We are sure that our brother, the Bishop of Salisbury, and the members of the Association for the Furtherance of Christianity in Egypt, will be pleased to learn that our Bishop of Khartoum has already established a school in Omdurman, which is attended by some 112 pupils of the Christian, Mohammedan, and Jewish religions.

"The amount presented by your Association will for ever be gratefully remembered by the schools in the Soudan.

"May the peace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ remain upon all of us.

"(Signed) THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA.

"July 18, 1900."

In a letter I received shortly afterwards from Simaika Bey, he says: "Sarapamoun[1] is making progress with his good work. He has established a boys' school which already contains about 150 pupils, of whom about sixty are Mussulmans, and five are Jews. The grant does not come one moment too soon."

Through the courtesy of the Sirdar, an excellent site[2] has been granted to the Bishop of Khartoum, for the erection of a Coptic Church and schools, in the new city of Khartoum.

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[1] The Coptic Bishop of Khartoum.
[2] See plan of Khartoum, p. 301.

It stands on the bank of the Blue Nile, close to the hotel, and in a central and commanding position.

The sympathy and friendliness shewn in this, and in many other ways, by the Government authorities, as well as by the Anglican Church, towards the Coptic Church, gives promise of closer intercourse and co-operation in the future, for the wider spread of the knowledge of Christ throughout that interesting country.

The appointment of an independent Bishop for Egypt—providing the right man is chosen—will, however, mark a new departure in the effective influence of the Church of England in that country. It has been shewn[1] that Bishop Blyth has accomplished much, in spite of many difficulties, during his episcopacy. He has, by his kindly sympathy, prepared the way for the steady growth of fraternal relations between the Anglican Church and the Coptic and Greek Churches, which will make the task before the new Bishop comparatively easy. The strengthening and spiritualising of native Christianity; the promotion of an efficient system of Christian instruction for the Moslem children; the guidance and regulation of independent Christian missionary efforts; these, in addition to his primary duty in providing the means of grace, and the opportunities of worship, for the members of our own Church, will afford ample scope for the energies and powers of the Bishop for Egypt, whenever he is sent to relieve Bishop Blyth of that portion of his episcopal jurisdiction.

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[1] See p. 237.

(E) The Anglican Bishopric for Egypt.

A brief sketch of the inception and progress of the Anglican Bishopric for Egypt will not be out of place.

It has already been mentioned[1] that, since the revival of the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem, in 1887 A.D., the episcopal supervision of the congregations and members of the Church of England (and of the Churches in communion with her) throughout Egypt, Nubia, and the Soudan, and on both sides of the Red Sea, has been entrusted to Bishop Blyth. But the strain involved by the large amount of travelling, and by the maintenance of the various organizations in Egypt, in addition to his heavy labours in Palestine, has been too great, and Bishop Blyth has, for several years, been anxious to be relieved of his African jurisdiction.

Accordingly, in January, 1899 A.D.—soon after the Bishop of Salisbury returned from a visit which he paid to Jerusalem and to Cairo—an appeal was issued, signed by the two Archbishops and the majority of the English episcopate, for donations towards an Endowment Fund for a Bishopric for Egypt. The scheme was not viewed with favour by the Government at home, nor by Lord Cromer, as representing the Government of Egypt, mainly on the ground that the Bishopric might be regarded, rightly or wrongly, as a movement for promoting missionary and proselytising work in the southern districts of the Nile valley. It was therefore suggested that, to disarm suspicion, the Bishop for Egypt should be a suffragan to the Bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem and the East, and should not be entrusted with an independent See. Subscriptions, in response to the appeal, came in slowly during the year 1899 A.D., the interest

[1] See p. 236.

in the effort being mainly kept alive through the instrumentality of "Church Bells," whose readers contributed upwards of £2000 to the fund in twelve months. The want of more active support was, so far as could be ascertained, due to the impression which had been gradually gaining ground, to the effect that the Foreign Office was, for some reason, opposed to the formation of the Bishopric, and that the Prime Minister had requested the Archbishops not to take active steps in the matter.

Such was the position of affairs, when, in the spring of 1900 A.D., I visited Cairo, and was fortunate enough to have several long conversations with Lord Cromer on the whole question of the Bishopric. I found that the surmise of Church people at home was, in the main, accurate; missionary effort in the Soudan being considered inadvisable by Lord Cromer and the Sirdar, as it would tend to arouse serious trouble among the Moslems. My observations on the spot convinced me that this attitude was wise.

It seemed to me of the utmost importance that the point of view from which the British Agent in Egypt regarded the project should be known. This I had been unable to ascertain in England. When I had learned from Lord Cromer the reasons why the establishment of the Bishopric was viewed with such hostility in Government circles, I felt that the prospect of bringing it to a successful issue was almost hopeless. So strong had the official opposition to the scheme become, that, at the very time when I was discussing the question in Cairo, Lord Salisbury at home was urging the Archbishop of Canterbury to allow the matter to be absolutely dropped.

I had, however, become so strengthened in the conviction, which I have always held, of the necessity for the early foundation of the Egyptian Bishopric, that, in spite of the overwhelming obstacles that now faced me, I addressed myself, with Lord Cromer's permission, to the task of preparing a draft, in the hope that it might form the basis of an agree-

ment between the two apparently irreconcilable policies. Although, for reasons into which I need not here enter, my interest had hitherto been centred in the appointment of a suffragan, on which subject Bishop Blyth had consulted me in some detail previous to my visit to Egypt, I now felt impelled not to allow so great an opportunity to pass, without making the attempt to secure the foundation of an independent See; and this idea I incorporated in my draft. Through Lord Cromer's willingness to discuss the whole situation fully, I was enabled to draw up a document, to which both he and Bishop Blyth gave their written approval, for submission to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the acceptance of which by His Grace would, I hoped, remove the objections of the Foreign Office. The text was as follows:—

SUGGESTED DRAFT APPEAL.

"An appeal was issued, in January, 1899 A.D., by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and, with one or two exceptions, by the Bishops of both Provinces, inviting Church people to subscribe towards the endowment of a Bishopric for Egypt.

"Hitherto, the episcopal oversight of the Anglican congregations in the land of the Pharaohs has been exercised by the Bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem and the East. But the extension of the work under the able administration of Bishop Blyth, since his consecration in 1887 A.D., has forced upon him the conclusion, which strengthens year by year, that, if the Church is to rise to her opportunities, it is essential that he must be relieved of a portion of the burden at present laid upon him.

"The development of political affairs in Egypt has already brought about an increase in the number of Englishmen employed in some capacity—either in connection with the Government, or in commercial enterprises, or in the carrying out of engineering or similar works—throughout the country; and it is only to be expected that this immigration of Englishmen will continue for many years to come.

"If the Church is to make adequate provision for the spiritual wants of her children scattered along the valley of the Nile, it is obvious that considerable effort on the part of Church people at home will be necessary; and the peculiar conditions of the problem can only be efficiently fulfilled by the controlling and directing influence of a resident Bishop.

"One of the most pressing needs in this connection is the arranging for the services of a clergyman, occasional if not permanent, at the numerous centres, such as Zagazig, Tantah, &c., where there is a small English community, which is not sufficiently wealthy to maintain its own chaplain without extraneous help.

"The extension of educational effort, among the various classes and creeds of the native population, who may desire their children to be trained in schools which are under the control and influence of the representative of Anglican Christianity, is a subject that is gaining importance every year. But it is essential that these efforts should be founded on a sound and practical basis, in such a manner as to be in accordance with the administrative policy of Lord Cromer, and in no way antagonistic to the excellent educational system of the Egyptian Government. The various attempts in this direction, at present in existence, might be strengthened and rendered more valuable by such systematisation as could be brought about by the personal influence of a Bishop who was familiar, by constant association and intercourse, with the methods and working of the schools, and could be appealed to for assistance or advice.

"The spirit of friendship and brotherhood, which has marked the relations between the Anglican Church and various branches of the Eastern Church during the past twenty years, is worthy of encouragement, and the existence of this feeling opens out a great opportunity for the Church of England to shew her practical sympathy with Oriental Christianity, by tendering her aid in such ways as are best calculated to be acceptable and helpful.

"The question of missionary work in the Soudan is one that forces itself to the front in the minds of all earnest Churchmen, and hopes have been indulged in not only by ourselves, but by many bodies of Christians, that a vigorous campaign might be set on foot without loss of time, with a view to holding up the Cross of Christ in that vast region. But it is not generally realised that the Soudanese are not pagans, who may at least be willing to listen to the preaching of Christianity, whether they accept it whole-heartedly or not. On the contrary, they are fervent Mohammedans, who would certainly resent any attempt to interfere with their religious views. In the opinion of those whose long experience on the spot gives special value to their judgment, it would seriously interfere with the task of the pacification and civilisation of the Soudan, if any form of missionary propaganda were to be carried on among the inhabitants for several years to come.

"It is popularly believed that one of our Church Societies, as well as the Roman Catholics, have received permission to commence operations of a proselytising character at Khartoum; and, not unnaturally, it is felt that the Anglican Church ought, if such is the case, to be allowed full scope for placing an official representative there. But this belief arises from a misapprehension of the real facts. Various Christian missionaries have, it is true, been allowed to pass through the Soudan, with a view to establishing themselves in the region south of Fashoda, in order that they may work among the different heathen races in those localities. In each instance, leave has been granted to form a small base or depôt at Khartoum, as a means of communication between the south, and the headquarters of their own missions in Europe. This concession, however, has been made by Lord Cromer on the distinct and definite understanding that such depôt will not be used as a centre of missionary activity, but that its utility will be strictly confined to the purpose for which it is founded. In a recent instance in which the conditions laid down by the political authorities were contravened, steps have been taken to ensure compliance with them.

"Under these circumstances, it has been decided, on the advice of Lord Cromer, and with the concurrence of Bishop Blyth, that, while the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Egypt will include all that portion of Africa defined in the Queen's Letters Patent granted to the Bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem and the East at his consecration in 1887 A.D., the active episcopal functions of the new Bishop will, for the present, be confined to Lower and Upper Egypt.

"Through the generosity of Churchpeople at home, the sum of £6000 has already been subscribed towards the endowment of the Egyptian Bishopric, and we urgently appeal for further donations, in order that this extension of the work of the Anglican Church may be placed on a permanent basis before the end of the present year.

"The sum originally asked for was £20,000. This would barely yield £600 a year. The cost of living in Egypt is considerably higher than at home, and the expenses of constant travelling up and down the Nile, as well as of the necessary visits to England (with a view to keeping Churchpeople acquainted with the progress of the work), would be very great.

"We therefore feel—and in this view we are supported by Bishop Blyth's ripe experience—that, to place the Bishopric on a firm financial footing, the sum of £30,000 ought to be raised; and we have confidence that, in spite of the heavy calls which have recently been made on the generosity of Englishmen, the recognition of our national responsibilities in regard to Egypt—a country so intimately connected with the very existence of the Christian Faith—will issue in a prompt and practical response to this appeal, and will ensure the immediate establishment of an Anglican episcopal See in one of the oldest, and undoubtedly one of the most interesting and historical, Patriarchates of the Catholic Church of Christ.

"It has been suggested that the seat of the Anglican Bishop for Egypt might for a time be placed in Alexandria, from which centre of commercial activity both the Coptic and Orthodox Greek Patriarchs take their titles."

Immediately after the draft had been signed by Lord Cromer and Bishop Blyth, I returned to London, where I sought an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and placed the above document in his hands, together with letters from Lord Cromer and Bishop Blyth. A few months later, when the former came to England for his holiday, he had several interviews with His Grace, at which the matter was finally settled.

Lord Cromer returned to Egypt in October, 1900 A.D., and in November the following documents were published, by his authority, in the "Egyptian Gazette":—

[LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO LORD CROMER.]

"Lambeth Palace, S.E.,
25th September, 1900.

"My dear Lord Cromer,—

"You are already aware that the Bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem and the East has expressed a very strong desire to be relieved of some part of the burden which is now brought upon him by the steady increase in the work attached to his office. There can be no doubt that this relief could best be given by constituting Egypt into a separate and independent diocese.

"The increase in the number of Englishmen now employed in Egypt; the demands for clergy to visit a large number of small settlements scattered over the country, most of them unable to pay a chaplain for themselves; the numerous demands for schools to be worked in harmony with the excellent educational system of the Egyptian Government; all these imply work which requires skilful organization and strong and vigilant supervision, such as no one could give so effectively as an independent Bishop with full powers of action.

"I know that very little can at present be done in the

Soudan, and though the Soudan ought to be included in the new diocese, the Bishop ought not to exercise his functions there until the Government shall have pronounced it permissible. But there will be no difficulty in arranging this.

"I have already received memorials on the whole subject from the congregations of St. Mark's, in Alexandria, and of All Saints', in Ramleh. I shall, of course, give great weight to what these memorials say.

"And if your Lordship shall have the opportunity of ascertaining the feelings of English Churchmen in Egypt generally, I should be very grateful. It is of great importance to carry the English congregations with us if we can do so.

"I believe that the step which we desire to take in founding a new Bishopric in Egypt will be of great value to the Church both at home and abroad.

"I am, &c.,

"(Signed) F. CANTUAR."

[APPEAL TO BE MADE TO CHURCHMEN IN ENGLAND TO RAISE FUNDS FOR THE ENDOWMENT OF A DIOCESAN BISHOPRIC FOR EGYPT.]

"An appeal was issued in January, 1899, by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, with other Bishops of both Provinces, inviting Church people to subscribe towards the endowment of a Bishopric for Egypt.

"Hitherto, the episcopal oversight of the Anglican congregations in Egypt has been exercised by the Bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem and the East. But the work has grown in his hands, and is still growing rapidly; and this has forced upon him the conclusion that, if the Church is to use the opportunities now open, he must be relieved of a portion of his burden.

"There is a large and steadily-growing increase in the number of Englishmen now employed in Egypt; more clergy are wanted, and a careful organization of their labour such as to make it thoroughly efficient; there is a great demand for schools, many of the natives preferring

that their children should be educated under the control or influence of English teachers. All this work demands the strong and vigilant supervision which an independent Diocesan Bishop would supply.

"Very little can be done at present in the Soudan. In the opinion of those whose long experience on the spot gives value to their judgment, it would seriously interfere with the great task of pacifying and civilising the Soudan, if any form of missionary work were to be carried on, or even appeared to be carried on, in that district at the present time.

"In these circumstances, it has been decided, with the consent both of Lord Cromer and of Bishop Blyth, that, while the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Egypt shall include all that portion of Africa defined by the Queen's Letters Patent as within the diocese of the Church of England in Jerusalem and the East, the active episcopal functions of the new Bishop shall be confined for the present to Lower and Upper Egypt, excluding the Soudan.

"Through the generosity of Church people at home, the sum of £8000 has already been subscribed towards the endowment of the Egyptian Bishopric, and we urgently appeal for further contributions. The sum originally asked for was £20,000. This would barely yield £600 a year. The expense of living in Egypt is considerably higher than in England, and the expenses of travelling up and down the Nile, and occasionally to England to report progress and find men, would certainly be heavy. We therefore ask, and are supported by Bishop Blyth in the request, that not less than £30,000 should be raised, so as to put the Bishopric on a firm financial basis.

"Considering the connection of Egypt with the story of the Bible and with the very existence of the Christian Faith, we cannot doubt that the members of the Church of England will respond heartily to the call.

"(Signed) F. CANTUAR."

It will thus be seen that the opposition of Lord Cromer to the Egyptian Bishopric was not dictated by any immutable hostility to the scheme; but, as the representative of the

British Government in the country, he felt himself unable to consent to the proposal, unless the active missionary projects attached to it by Churchmen at home were modified.

It is no secret in Cairo that Lord Cromer, so far as his own personal feelings are concerned, is by no means an enthusiastic promoter of the Bishopric; but the spirit of tolerance and justice, which animates all Lord Cromer's policy, has led him, at the cost of a vast amount of labour and trouble, to guide rather than oppose a movement, which he realises is regarded by the Bishops at home as an important extension of the Church's work; and it is due to his sense of fairness, and to his respect for the Archbishop's opinion on Church questions, that the scheme for the Egyptian Bishopric has been piloted through the difficulties that lay before it.

The result of the negotiations which were carried on during the year 1900 A.D., has been that, instead of the establishment of a Suffragan Bishopric to Bishop Blyth (which was the most that was hoped for in England), Lord Cromer, and through his influence the Government, has practically sanctioned the immediate appointment of a permanent Bishop for Egypt. No comment is needed to shew the importance of this concession, in its bearing on the future success of Church work in that country.

The extension of Anglican Church influence in Egypt, and its beneficial effect in strengthening and consolidating the native Churches, are eagerly looked forward to as the result of this latest development of the episcopate, which, in the opinion of the ecclesiastical authorities at home, is greatly needed.

CHAPTER V.

The Roman Catholic Mission.

It is difficult to fix the exact date at which the present Roman Catholic Mission in Egypt was established. The strenuous and persistent endeavours of the Jesuits to bring over the kingdom of Abyssinia to the Roman faith,[1] led to the visit of a considerable number of Latin priests to different parts of Egypt; but, so far as can be conjectured, they were mainly instrumental in forming the Uniat Church.[2]

The invasion of the country by the French under Napoleon gave, doubtless, a considerable impetus to the efforts of the Roman Church to endeavour to win over the native Christians to their views. A large number of priests accompanied the French army, some of whom remained behind after the troops were forced to return to Europe.

In Alexandria there is a resident Roman Catholic Archbishop, the Archbishop of Cabase, and a Vicar-General. The Roman Catholic churches, each of which is served by one or more priests, are the Church of St. Catherine, the Church of St. Francis d'Assisi, the Church of St. Anthony, the Church of the Immaculate Conception, and the Church of St. Francis Xavier.

In Cairo their organization is considerably larger. They have the Church of the Assumption, the Church of St. Joseph, the Church of the Virgin of Carmel, each in charge of one priest; the Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, to which Mgr. Roveggio is attached; the Church of St. Mark, with two priests; and the Convent of the Flight into Egypt. Under the special direction of the Jesuits are the Church of the Sacred Heart, and the Chapel of the Holy Family. There is also a large convent and seminary attached to

[1] See pp. 163 ff. [2] See p. 231.

the African Missions of Lyons, and some ten or twelve schools in various parts of the city.

In other districts, and especially in Upper Egypt, there are small congregations of Roman Catholics. They have a church at Helouan, belonging to the Missionnaires de l'Afrique Centrale. It is a large edifice, with an imposing spire. Their most important settlement up the Nile is at Girgeh (334 miles from Cairo), where, just outside the town, they have a convent, which is one of the oldest in Egypt. The abbot is a member of the Fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre. At Akhmim, too, about twenty miles north of Girgeh, there is a small community of Romanists, with a chapel of their own.

Prospects. There is little doubt that the power of Roman Catholicism in Egypt is very slight, and the work of the clergy is almost entirely confined to ministering to the European residents. The persistent attempts, for several centuries, to bring the Coptic Church under the authority of the Bishop of Rome (which have been briefly sketched in the foregoing pages), have made the Patriarch and Bishops of the National Church extremely suspicious of any advances the Roman Catholic Church may make towards a better mutual understanding; and this attitude renders it very difficult for the Roman priests to secure much success in their educational efforts among the Copts. Their numbers, so far as can be ascertained, are not increasing; and, in spite of the ability and energy of Mgr. Roveggio, they have not secured any influence for their communion, either among the officials or among the poor.

They have rendered good service to the Egyptian Church by causing the Gospels, and portions of the Liturgy, to be printed in Coptic for circulation throughout the country, thus helping to preserve the ancient language. But the value of this benefit is marred by the preface inserted in the volume, in which the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome is insisted upon and enforced.

CHAPTER VI.

The Armenian Church.

The Armenians have a tradition that Christianity was first preached in Armenia by St. Thaddæus, but the real founder of this Church was St. Gregory the Illuminator. Gregory was the son of a Parthian Prince, who had married a Christian. When Tiridates III. had, with the help of the Emperor Diocletian, recovered the kingdom of Armenia (his father, Chosrov I., had been murdered), Gregory, who had entered the service of Tiridates, refused to join in the pagan ceremonies, and was cast into a mud-pit, where for fourteen years he was fed by a pious widow, named Anna. At the end of that time the King was visited with the punishment of Nebuchadnezzar.[1] He was healed by Gregory, and baptized, in 302 A.D. In order to shew his zeal, he established Christianity by force throughout his dominions, and caused Gregory to be consecrated[2] first Bishop of Armenia. Almost immediately the new Bishop set to work to erect churches, monasteries, hospitals, and schools. In 332 A.D. he resigned the Patriarchate in favour of his second son, Aristaces, and retired to a cave, where he died shortly afterwards. The episcopal throne of Armenia was occupied by several generations of his descendants, who adopted the title of Catholics.

At the Council of Chalcedon, in 451 A.D., the Patriarch of Etchmiadzin[3] was not present, and the Armenian Church refused to accept its decrees. This refusal was confirmed at the Synod of Vagarshiabad in 491 A.D., and, half a century later, a formal separation from the Orthodox Church was

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[1] Dan. iv. 33. [2] By Leontius, Archbishop of Cæsarea.

[3] The See of the Catholicos of Armenia was fixed there by Gregory. Etchmiadzin is in Russian territory, near Mount Ararat.

announced. Shortly after the Mohammedan conquest of the East, the Armenian Church began to be subjected to persecution at the hands of the Moslems, which has been continued to the present day; but the people have always preferred martyrdom rather than apostasy.

In the fifteenth century an Armenian Uniat Church[1] was formed, and from that time the Roman Church has never ceased its efforts to gain a supremacy over this ancient branch of Christianity.

An immigration of Armenians into Egypt took place in considerable numbers during the reign of Mustanzir, towards the end of the eleventh century, when the Armenian Vizir, Bedr, was in power. They formed a settlement to the south of Cairo, and a Patriarch, named Gregory, was consecrated for them. The succession of Armenian Patriarchs in Egypt continued for a hundred and fifty years.

The Armenians in Cairo at the present day are ecclesiastically represented by three priests, a *greffier*,[2] and a secretary. They have a Cathedral dedicated to Sainte Marie, and the Chapel of St. Minas, besides a flourishing school for boys. In Alexandria they have the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, served by two priests, and several well-managed schools.

The Armenians, as a race, possess excellent abilities, and a remarkable aptitude for acquiring both European and Oriental languages. Many of those in Egypt hold important Government offices, while others carry on the business of jewellers and goldsmiths, and acquire considerable wealth. They make excellent servants, but—doubtless owing to the centuries of oppression at the hands of the Moslems—they have a tendency, when placed in positions of authority, to use their power harshly, and sometimes take up a bullying attitude towards their inferiors.

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[1] See p. 234.

[2] Or Registrar.

CHAPTER VII.

The American Presbyterian Mission.

This religious effort was set on foot in 1854, and has thus been labouring in Egypt for nearly half a century. It belongs to one of the smaller bodies of the Presbyterian family, and is under the direction of a board of managers at Philadelphia, U.S.A.

A short time before it commenced operations, the C.M.S. had given up their work in the country. The American Mission acts on the Divine command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," and consequently they have directed their attention towards the native Christians, as well as towards the Moslems and the Jews.

The chief methods used by this Mission have been the following:—[1]

(1). Evangelistic tours on the Nile for preaching the Word, and the distribution of religious literature.

(2). The establishment of schools for teaching and training the young, and preparing them to read the Scriptures for themselves; and also as a means of reaching the parents and relatives, the schoolhouse at the same time affording a place for evangelistic meetings, conducted by the teachers. Over 2000 Moslems attended the Mission schools in 1898.

(3). The publication or distribution of Scriptures and other religious books. During the last few years, many tracts, and a few valuable books on the controversy between Christianity and Mohammedanism, have been published and put in circulation. More than 500,000 volumes of religious and useful books have been distributed by the Mission during its history.

[1] 43rd Annual Report of the American Mission in Egypt, p. 5.

(4). Zenana work, by which women, unable to attend the schools, and often, too, the Church service, are taught reading, and have the Scriptures read and explained to them in their homes; while at the same time they receive sympathy and aid in various ways to enable them to bear the burdens, and perform the duties, pertaining to their lot in this world.

(5). The establishing of Sabbath schools, and gathering into them of the young, who are taught the Word of God, in the order laid down in the International lessons.

(6). The training of young men and women for the work of Christ among their own countrymen. The seminaries for girls are located at Cairo and Assiout. The training college for boys is at Assiout, and the theological one at Cairo.

(7). Doctors, thoroughly imbued with the Spirit of the Great Physician, are located at Assiout and Tantah. They hold classes for the poor, at which religious instruction is imparted, and they respond to the calls of the sick in their homes in the surrounding country, and prescribe for both soul and body.

It is admitted by the leaders of this Mission, that their object is to found a native Presbyterian Church in Egypt, and that it matters little to them whether recruits come from the Coptic Church or from among the Moslems. They regard the Copts as being "almost as ignorant of Scripture truths as their Moslem neighbours," which certainly is not the experience of those who have come in contact with the members of the National Church of Egypt. The following paragraph ignores the existence of the native Church, which has existed in the country since the days of St. Mark:—

"The population of Egypt is about 9,735,000. We have planted the truth in the midst, but only about one in every 500 has even partially received it. There are 18,000 cities, towns, villages, and hamlets in Egypt. The

light has been brought to 201—only one in every ninety, but so it was in the first centuries—step by step, place by place. . . . . A Church, though small, has been formed with all the organization necessary. It is God's agency for saving the world, and for saving Egypt. . . . . The Kingdom of God has come to Egypt, and it is filling the land."[1]

Or again, the following, which, it must regretfully be said, is lamentably wanting in the true spirit of Christian charity, besides giving the erroneous impression that the Coptic schools, many of which were in existence long before the Americans arrived in the country, were only established out of rivalry.

"We are confirmed in our opinion that nothing is being done, in religion or spirituality, by either the Patriarchal party, or the so-called reform party of the Coptic Church. Their efforts are put forth entirely to oppose and destroy the work of the Evangelical Church. There are scores of places where there are many Copts without any means for the education of their children. These are entirely neglected by them, while both the parties mentioned are striving to break up our schools in other places, by opening up opposition schools, and appealing to racial and mercenary prejudices; and if it happens that they succeed, only a few months pass until their own schools are given up also, while never do they establish a school where there is not a Protestant one already in operation. They take no interest in the circulation of the Scriptures, or training their children in the knowledge of Gospel truths. In some of their schools the Word of God is not even admitted. The great motives prompting them to their present activity are political and mercenary. The salvation of souls by the blood of Christ has no place in their hearts. It is therefore all the more our duty to do our utmost to supply Egyptians with the Word of Life, and hold up before the sinner living in Egypt the crucified Saviour as the only ground for salvation."[2]

[1] See "Blessed be Egypt," Oct. 1899, p. 8.

[2] 43rd Annual Report of the American Mission in Egypt, p. 12.

We append one more extract from this document:—

> "The Coptic schools are indirectly a result of the evangelical work, from the most primary school up to their Theological School. The Catholics, too, have been stirred to greater activity, and, with motives similar to the Copts, have increased the number of their schools wherever they think they can do any injury to the evangelical work. In this evil designing all Catholic sects, with the Greek Orthodox and often the Copts, combine forces." [1]

It cannot for a moment be denied that the members of the American Presbyterian Mission are earnest and devoted men and women, nor that they are doing an active, and in many ways a valuable, work in Egypt. They have been established there for a long period, and their missionaries make a speciality of becoming excellent Arabic scholars, in order that they may exercise a greater influence among the people. But, unfortunately, they do not sufficiently discriminate between the Copts, who constitute one of the most ancient historical branches of the Christian Church, and the Moslems, who—however much we may admire the tenacity with which they hold to their religious tenets—are a non-Christian race. The consequence of this is that their policy in the past has appeared to the ecclesiastical authorities of the National Church of Egypt to be so injurious and so hostile, that, some years ago, the Patriarch, wisely or unwisely, felt compelled to place them under the ban of excommunication, and to issue a notice among his people that they were not to have dealings with the Presbyterians. This strong measure had the effect of checking, to some extent, the progress and spread of the work of the Mission, though, as the following statistics shew, it is firmly established along the valley of the Nile, and its influence is steadily increasing.

In the opinion of many who are closely acquainted with the conditions of Christianity in Egypt, the danger to the

[1] Idem, p. 28.

cause of Christ arising from systematic proselytising among the Copts is very great. There is a vast field for missionary effort among the millions of Mohammedans throughout Egypt and Nubia, and every genuine convert, won from the followers of "the Prophet," is a real gain to the cause of Christ. But, the effect of withdrawing members of the Coptic Church from their own communion, and teaching them that many of the doctrines which their ancestors received in the days of the Apostles, and have held in the face of the most cruel and bitter persecutions for upwards of eighteen centuries, are erroneous, is not only dangerous to the religious life of the community, inasmuch as it unsettles their faith, but is weakening that branch of the Catholic Church of Christ to which many are looking forward as the future instrument, in God's hands, for the conversion of the Moslems. The policy of the Anglican Church has been, and is, to endeavour to win over the Mohammedans to the Christian faith, and at the same time to build up and strengthen the native Coptic Church; and it would be a great satisfaction if those responsible for the Roman Catholic and American Presbyterian Missions in Egypt were animated by an equally catholic spirit.

The following are a few statistics of the work of the American Presbyterian Mission, which have been taken from the above-mentioned report.

(a) *Workers.* There are 46 "foreign" workers, including 15 pastors, 16 married ladies, 10 unmarried ladies, one professor, and four on the medical staff. The "native" workers include 23 pastors, 44 students and lay preachers, 263 school teachers, and 43 harem workers (of whom 15 are men), making a total of 373. To these may be added 27 colporteurs.

(b) *Churches.* The number of churches is given as 68, though the total of "organized congregations (churches)" is

set down as 43, so that it is not stated to what use the extra 25 churches are put. In addition we learn that there are 127 "other places where regular services are held."

(c) *Schools.* There are 132 schools for boys, and 33 for girls, giving a total of 165. The male pupils number 8424, and the female 3128. The religious tenets of the children are instructive:

Boys: Protestant, 1855; Copts, 4372; Moslems, 1887; various, 310—total, 8424.
Girls: Protestant, 524; Copts, 1576; Moslems, 577; various, 451—total, 3128.

(d) *Sunday Schools.* The number of Sunday schools is 120, the pupils being as follows: Men, 2483; women, 1331; boys, 2314; girls, 1077—total, 7205. There are 204 male teachers, and 77 female teachers.

(e) *General Statistics.* The *women* under instruction in the harems are returned at 1536. Their religious views are thus differentiated: Protestants, 320; Copts, 897; Moslems, 143; Jewesses and others, 176. These figures, as well as those referring to the schools, shew that the principal work of this mission is directed towards detaching the native Christians from their ancient faith, while comparatively little is being done to win Mohammedans to the Cross of Christ.

The *total number of adherents* of this Mission is not clearly stated. The membership is returned as 5725, made up of 3223 men, and 2502 women; while the attendance at Sunday morning service is given at 11,021.

The *Baptisms* during the year were: two adults and 582 children.

The Mission has "*stations*" at the following places: Alexandria, Cairo, Assiout, Tantah, Monsurah, Zagazig, Benha, and Maghagha.

CHAPTER VIII.

Various Protestant Missions.

1. The British and Foreign Bible Society.

This excellent Society first commenced its operations in Egypt in the year 1817, in connection with the Malta Bible Society. The founder of the work was the Rev. Mr. Burckhardt, whose labours were, after his death, carried on by Mr. Jowett. The total number of volumes (chiefly the Bible, or portions of it) circulated throughout Egypt by this Society is nearly 30,000 annually, of which upwards of a third are in Arabic. In regard to the value of this distribution of the Word of God, the Society's agent recently wrote as follows: "It is almost certain, so far as the people of Egypt are concerned, that the large circulation of the Scriptures during past years has awakened a degree of real interest in their contents, which may be recognised thankfully and hopefully as the first working of the Divine leaven. Among the Mohammedans, especially at Cairo, there is a spirit of earnest enquiry observable, and books which deal with the questions between Christianity and Islam have been eagerly purchased. It may be safely assumed that very much of this enquiring spirit is due to the effect of the reading of the Holy Scriptures, of which so many copies have gone among the people."

The Society has depôts at Alexandria, Cairo, and Port Said, and a number of agents throughout the country.

2. The German Protestant Mission.

There is in Cairo a small church, just opposite the Hotel d'Angleterre, at which a service is held in German every Sunday morning at 10 a.m., followed by a French service.

The Pastor is the Rev. E. Wedemann. Attached to the church is a well-conducted school, comprising about fifty pupils. In Alexandria, the German Church is presided over by the Rev. Dr. Kaufmann,who, like his colleague in Cairo, has a school under his supervision.

3. The Dutch Mission.

This mission was commenced by a Dutch missionary, Mr. Nyland, who came to Egypt in 1871 A.D., and took up his residence at Kalioub, about nine miles north of Cairo. Three years later Mr. and Mrs. Spillenaar joined him, but in 1876 A.D. Mr. Nyland went to Palestine. The work has grown slowly, until at the present time they have a flourishing school of about 70 boys and 25 girls, chiefly Moslems. In 1895 A.D. they opened another school at the Barrage, where there are some 50 children under instruction.

Mention must also be made of

4. *The North African Mission*, which is well represented at Alexandria, with a flourishing girls' school, and has also, attached to its staff, two ladies living at Rosetta, who carry on a school there, and endeavour to use their influence in the cause of Christ among the native women.

5. *The Egypt Mission Band*, set on foot by Miss Van Sommers, which is conducted by seven earnest men from Belfast, who have established themselves in Alexandria, and intend, after becoming thoroughly familiar with Arabic, to carry on mission work in the Delta.

6. A Mission undertaken by two ladies at the village of Zaharieh, near Ramleh, who have established a successful girls' school for Arabic children.

There are other missions, in various parts of Egypt, carried on by individual effort, and not connected with any particular society or organization, which cannot be here enumerated. While limited in their influence, they give evidence

of a desire on the part of Christian people to bring a knowledge of the Gospel to the Mohammedan people of Egypt, although unfortunately, in some cases, their proselytising efforts are directed towards winning over the members of the native Church, rather than towards the conversion of the Moslems.

CHAPTER IX.

Statistics of the Population of Egypt.

At the last census, which was taken on June 1, 1897, the total population of Egypt was 9,734,405, being made up of 4,947,850 males, and 4,786,555 females.

At the previous census, taken in 1882, the figures were as follows: Total, 6,813,919. Males, 3,400,084; females, 3,413,835. It will thus be seen that the population has increased 43 per cent. during the fifteen years, and that the preponderance of the female element at the earlier date has given place to a majority of the male sex.

The population may be divided under three heads, viz., Egyptians and strangers. The former number 9,621,831 (including 601,427 Bedouins), while the latter only amount to 112,574.

The classification of "strangers," according to their various nationalities, is interesting. The following table shews the comparison of the figures in 1882 and 1897:—

Country.	In 1882.	In 1897.
Greece	37,301	38,208
Italy	18,665	24,454
Great Britain	6,118	19,563[1]
France	15,716	14,172[2]
Austro-Hungary	8,022	7,115
Russia	533	3,192[3]
Germany	948	1,281
Spain	589	765
Switzerland	412	472

[1] Including Army of Occupation, 4909; Maltese, 6481; and Indians, 617.

[2] Including Algerians and Tunisians, 3895.

[3] Including military transport, 1793; from Bokhara and Khiva, 431.

Country.	In 1882.	In 1897.
U.S. America	183 . .	293
Belgium	637 . .	256
Holland	221 . .	247
Portugal	36 . .	155
Sweden and Norway . .	15 . .	105
Denmark	14 . .	72
Persia	... . .	1,304
Various	1,476 . .	920[1]

It will be seen from the above figures that the greatest increase has taken place in the British residents, while the falling-off has been most pronounced among the French.

We now come to the figures representing the various religious views of the population.

The *Moslems* number 8,977,702 out of the grand total of 9,734,405. The remaining 756,703 are distributed as follows: *Christians*, 731,235; *Jews*, 25,200; and *various*, 268. The last includes Buddhists, Parsees, and those who made no return.

The number of Christians—731,235—is sub-divided as follows: *Orthodox* (including the Orthodox (Jacobite) Copts, the Greek (Melchite) Copts, the Syrians, and the Armenians), 645,775; *Catholics* (including Roman Catholics, the Coptic Uniats, the Syrian Uniats, the Maronites, and the Armenian Uniats), 61,051; and "*Protestants*" (including the Anglican Church, and the various Nonconformist and Protestant sects), 24,409.

Another table may be given, which shews the various sub-divisions of the return in regard to the Coptic Christians. The total number of *Copts* is given as 609,511, made up as follows: Orthodox (Jacobite) Copts, 592,374; Catholic Copts (*i.e.*, those who acknowledge the supremacy of the Papal See), 4,630; and Protestant Copts (*i.e.*, those who,

[1] Including, from Brazil, 31; from Roumania, 126; from Servia and Montenegro, 48; from Morocco, 660; from China, 53; and from Japan, 2.

while returning themselves as Coptic Christians, have accepted the teaching of the Protestant sects), 12,507.

One further table, shewing the respective creeds of native Egyptians and strangers, will be of interest:

Of the 8,977,702 *Moslems*, 8,971,761 are Egyptians, and 5941 are strangers.

Of the 731,235 *Christians*, 637,357 are Egyptians, and 93,878 are strangers. The Orthodox Egyptians number 606,276, the Orthodox strangers, 39,499; the Catholic Egyptians number 18,036, the Catholic strangers, 43,015; the Protestant Egyptians number 13,045, the Protestant strangers, 11,364.

Of the 25,200 *Jews*, 12,693 are Egyptians, and 12,507 are strangers.

Of the 268 "*various*," 20 are Egyptians, and 248 are strangers.

EGYPT: ITS PROVINCES AND POPULATION.

Name of Province.	No. of Districts.	Centres of Population.	Moslems.	Christians.	Total.
LOWER EGYPT.					
1. Beheirah . .	7	2,947	621,306	9,919	631,225
2. Sharkiyeh .	6	3,228	732,124	17,006	749,130
3. Dakhaliyeh .	6	1,324	718,230	18,478	736,708
4. Gharbiyeh .	11	2,133	1,273,073	24,583	1,297,656
5. Kalyoubiyeh .	3	926	362,932	8,533	371,465
6. Menoufiyeh .	5	775	836,548	27,658	864,206
Total .	38	11,333	4,544,213	106,177	4,650,390
UPPER EGYPT.					
7. Beni Souef .	3	430	294,191	20,263	314,454
8. El Fayoum .	3	1,106	352,634	18,372	371,006
9. Geezeh . .	4	407	390,177	11,457	401,634
10. Minyeh . .	8	888	453,867	94,765	548,632
11. Assiout . .	9	656	611,574	171,146	782,720
12. Girgeh . .	5	925	575,206	112,805	688,011
13. Keneh . .	7	1,169	657,022	54,435	711,457
14. Noubah . .	4	718	235,237	5,145	240,382
Total .	43	6,299	3,569,908	488,388	4,058,296
GOVERNORSHIPS.					
1. Cairo . . .	—	2	493,285	76,777	570,062
2. Alexandria .	—	12	253,353	75,413	319,766
3. Damietta . .	—	15	42,443	1,308	43,751
4. Port Said and Canal . .	—	24	34,881	15,298	50,179
5. Suez . . .	—	20	21,641	3,329	24,970
6. Arish . . .	—	3	16,978	13	16,991
Total .	—	76	863,581	162,138	1,025,719
Grand Total .	81	17,708	8,977,702	756,703	9,734,405

BOOK III.

THE FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

OF

CHRISTIANITY IN EGYPT.

"*Blessed be Egypt my people.*"—Isa. xix. 25.

The Future Possibilities of Christianity in Egypt.

Who would venture to give a forecast of the religious condition of Egypt at the end of the next fifty or a hundred years?

The story of the progress and vicissitudes of the Church of Christ within the limits of the Patriarchate of Alexandria is full of interest, of romance, of pathos. The Gospel was first planted in Egypt by the preaching of the Evangelist St. Mark. Among his successors were men, like St. Cyril and St. Athanasius, the influence of whose personality was practically unlimited. No branch of the Catholic Church was more powerful, none was held in greater esteem, than the Church of Alexandria, until, by rejecting the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon—more out of loyalty to her Patriarch Dioscorus than on account of any heretical tenets which she held—she was stigmatised as Monophysite in doctrine, and cut herself off from communion with the rest of Christendom. The history of the two succeeding centuries is one of turmoil, of bitterness, of strife between the Jacobites and the Melchites.[1]

The rise of Mohammedanism, and the establishment of the power of Islam over the country and nation, introduced a new factor in the relations between the opposing branches of the Christian Church. For the past twelve hundred and fifty years, the Church of Christ in Egypt has been at the mercy of the followers of "the prophet."

Can it be wondered at, then, that a numerically small band of Christians, persecuted, oppressed, and at times decimated by their conquerors, should emerge from their long period of slavery into the light of the nineteenth century, with its

[1] For definitions of these terms, see p. 189.

marvellous development of the principles of catholicity, and should present a sad picture of poverty, of ignorance, and of the lack of those qualities of moral strength which their predecessors in the first centuries of the Christian era possessed?

When we are tempted to draw comparisons—as the tourist so frequently does—between the Christian and the Mohammedan in Egypt, generally to the disadvantage and discredit of the former, it is only just that we should recall the fact that for upwards of a thousand years the Christian has been in physical subjection to his Mohammedan ruler; that, again and again, whenever he has attempted to rise above his condition of servitude, he has been crushed to the earth, branded with the badge of inferiority, and robbed of his possessions, either by wholesale confiscation, or by illegally-imposed fines.

What strikes the student of Oriental history as remarkable is, not that the less educated Copts are sometimes deficient in the Christian virtues, but that they have had the tenacity and the courage to stand up for, and retain, almost intact, their ancient faith in the face of centuries of injustice and massacre. The story of the Coptic Church in Egypt, of the Nestorian Church in Assyria, and of the unhappy Armenian Church in Turkey, are among the most convincing proofs that we have of the fulfilment of our Saviour's promise to His disciples, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." Without the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in their midst, these oppressed Churches of the East must long ago have been swept away in the flood of Mohammedan conquest. But, to their lasting honour, they have chosen the better part, and, in their loyal adherence to the Christian Faith, have given thousands of their members to swell the noble army of the martyrs whose blood has been the seed of the Church.

The down-trodden Church of Egypt has, however, by no means lacked the proffered assistance of other Christians,

whose solicitude for its welfare, in certain cases, irresistibly suggests the moral taught by the fable of the wolf and the lamb. The anxiety of the Roman Catholics to give the aid of their powerful organization to the Copts has had but one object, which they themselves would be the first to acknowledge, namely, to gather these Oriental Christians into the fold which looks to the Pope of Rome as its head. It was the same policy, carried out with such perseverance and determination during the seventeenth century, that brought upon the Church and nation of Abyssinia the internal troubles from which they have ever since been suffering. The result of the labours of Roman Catholics in Egypt may be seen in the Uniat Churches, small though they are both in numbers and importance, which have drawn away a certain proportion of members of the Coptic and of the Greek (Melchite) Churches. Absorption is the keynote of the relations between the Vatican and the oppressed Churches of the East.

Where, then, can strong, invigorating, disinterested help be found for those who cling to the priceless heritage of the Catholic faith, which they have preserved through centuries of persecution? It matters not if the light be dimmed by some real, or more probably some rumoured, taint of heresy which, if it existed in days gone by, is hardly traceable to-day. The answer can be given without hesitation. Such help can be found, among the true catholic and apostolic branches of the Church of Christ, in the Anglican communion.

The present attitude of the Church of England towards the Church of Egypt is not the outcome of a feverish and newborn realisation of the catholic spirit. As early as the year 1820, the Church Missionary Society undertook a mission in Cairo, not with proselytising intent, but to promote "the self-reformation of the Copts." Again, between the years 1836 and 1848, an interesting correspondence took place

between Archbishop Howley and the Rev. Henry Tattam, with a view to promoting some scheme for a revival of learning and zeal among the ecclesiastical authorities of the Coptic Church. A further effort in the same direction was made by the establishment and foundation, in the year 1883, of the Association for the Furtherance of Christianity in Egypt, which has attempted, in various ways, to render aid by such means as would be acceptable and helpful to the native Christians.

The influence of Bishop Blyth, since his consecration in 1887, has done much to remove the feelings of suspicion among the Copts, which the methods of the Roman Catholics and others had engendered in the Patriarch's mind, in regard to professions of friendship by Western Christians, and to assure him of the disinterested character of the motives which have prompted the authorities of the Anglican Church in the matter; while the presence in Egypt of a resident Anglican Bishop will effect far more, in the future, than the intermittent schemes of societies have been able to accomplish in the past.

The great missionary problem which confronts all Christian Churches at the present day is the conversion of the Mohammedan races. These are to be found in Turkey, in Persia, in India, and other countries, as well as in Egypt. But it is the future of Christianity in the latter country that we have to consider. How are the followers of Mahomet, numbering over 8,000,000 of persons, and scattered along the valley of the Nile, to be brought to a knowledge of "the faith as it is in Jesus"?

The solution of the problem is one on which ecclesiastics are by no means agreed. Speaking generally, the professors of each shade of Christian belief are of opinion that they, and those who think with them, alone have the necessary qualifications for the task. The consequence is that the missionaries in those lands in which the followers of Islam abound, finding that converts are more easily obtained from

among the native Christians than from among the Moslems, devote their energies mainly to the former, and then the religious world are astonished that so few of the latter are brought to accept the truths of the Gospel.

It is undoubtedly the fact that the essential character of Mohammedanism is its greatest bulwark of defence. The simplicity of its Theism, the rigid austerities of its fasts combined with the gross indulgence of its pleasures, and, above all, the sensual picture of the future state which is presented to each of the "faithful," renders it, as a religion, peculiarly attractive to the Oriental mind. The very devotion to religious exercises, and the rigour of the periods of abstinence, form a contrast to the permissive side of the religion which to them enhances its charm.

By what method can the Moslem be brought to accept the Christian faith?

1. It is sometimes suggested that the only successful way to win him over is to sweep away his creed and his religion, and to commence to build up a knowledge of Christ on the soil from which the very foundations of his former beliefs have been removed. "They labour," writes an authority on foreign missions, "under a miserable delusion who suppose that Mohammedanism paves the way for a purer faith. No system could have been devised with more consummate skill for shutting out the nations over which it has sway from the light of truth." [1]

This plan (of preparing the soil for the Christian seed by uprooting and destroying Moslem beliefs) has been attempted by different exponents of Christianity, and, it must be confessed, the results have not been encouraging. It is a dangerous experiment to destroy a man's faith, however primitive and imperfect it may be, unless one is in a position to build up something better in its place, with absolute certainty and without loss of time. The restraints

[1] Church Missionary Society's Atlas, Part I. p. 70. (C.M.S. 1887.)

of religion, even if that religion is lacking in many of the essentials of Christ's teaching, are better for a man than the helpless drifting of the soul on the tide of unbelief.

2. The system, on the other hand, which commends itself to many who have studied the subject of missions is of a totally different character. It takes the Mohammedan as he is, with his Koran as his guide. It points out to him that Allah, Whom he worships, and in Whom he believes, is the same Omnipotent Creator and Ruler as the Jehovah of the Jews, and the God of the Christians. It leads him to study his Koran, and to compare it with the Scriptures, more especially the New Testament, shewing that "the prophet," who lived in the seventh century, must have been well acquainted with the Bible and its teaching, and had obviously (and, indeed, on his own shewing) borrowed much of the grandest of his teaching from its pages.

A careful study of the Koran discloses the fact that Mahomet spoke with reverence of the Gospels; that he conceded the fact that Jesus was a prophet, and was the greatest of all teachers sent from heaven, until, as he maintained, his own mission superseded that of Christ; and that all honour and veneration were due to the Virgin Mary, whom he pronounced to be one of the four perfect women. He believed that Jesus worked miracles, and believed in His Resurrection and Ascension. He looked forward to the Second Advent of the Christ, and to the Millenium. But he denied that the Saviour was crucified (affirming that a substitute suffered on the cross), and he refused to accept the Divinity of the Lord, or to admit that the Mohammedans needed an Atonement.

While it is perfectly true that Mohammedanism, as defined by the tenets of its founder, is a non-Christian system, and is lacking in the fundamental verities of the true Faith, there are numerous points on which the two creeds approximate. The sound method, then, of dealing with a Moslem is to dwell on all those details on which there is agreement; to

enforce, and enlarge on, those attributes of the Christ which he is taught to believe; and to encourage comparison between the Word of God and what "the prophet" professed to have been a newer, and a special, revelation to himself.

Step by step the leaven of Christianity will do its work. Tenderly, and with every desire to avoid offence, the inconsistencies between Mahomet's teaching and practice may be pointed out. For example—during the lifetime of Khadijah he was content with one wife; after her death, he allowed each of "the faithful" to marry four; but, as his sensuality increased, instead of accepting the restrictions which he imposed on his followers, he permitted himself, by means of special dispensations from heaven, an almost unlimited indulgence in this respect. Again—when he commenced his mission, the principle on which he acted was "There shall be no violence in Islam;" but, as success attended his efforts, and the lust of conquest grew, he instituted the rule of offering to the vanquished the choice of "Islam or death," and thus encouraged wholesale massacres.

By praising whatever is good in Mohammedanism, such as the regularity and reality of the daily devotions, and by discounting those evils which had no part in the original system, but were selfish abuses of a nobler form of religion, the professor of Christianity will draw the comparison between the teaching of Christ, and the teaching of Mahomet, to the advantage and superiority of the former.

The greatest difficulty in his way is the doctrine of the Trinity. The Moslem rejects this as tri-theism, and the very mystery of the Three Persons in one God, which carries conviction to the follower of Jesus, notwithstanding the impossibility of explaining it, forms a grave stumbling-block to the Mohammedan.

The Western worker among the Moslems, to whom the problem appears more formidable than any other with which he is confronted, has infinitely more chance of making per-

manent converts by the second, rather than the first, of the two methods to which reference has been made. But the conviction is gradually gaining ground, among those who have studied the whole question of missionary labour in the East, that the practical failure of past efforts is due to the fact, that the subtle intricacies of the Oriental mind are impervious to the logical reasoning of Occidental thought. It is the belief of many who possess more than a superficial knowledge of the East, that the conversion of the Mohammedan races will come—unless, contrary to the lesson which is brought home to us by the results of the last half century of Foreign Mission work, the Lord should otherwise ordain—through the Eastern, and not the Western, branches of the Catholic Church.

Even those who have spent a lifetime among the Orientals find it totally impossible to appreciate or understand the point of view from which any given subject is approached. If this is true, as it undoubtedly is, of the smallest actions of every-day life, it is still more true of the higher aspects of religious belief.

Assuming, then, that the above principle in regard to mission work among the Moslems generally is correct, what would be its logical outcome so far as Egypt is concerned?

It would point to the fact that the agency through which they must be won to the "knowledge of Jesus Christ, and Him crucified" is not the Anglican or the Roman Church, but rather that branch of the Church of Christ which has held up the light—feeble often, flickering often, and at times almost extinguished—of the Gospel through centuries of tyranny and oppression.

But—it will be said—the Coptic Church is poor, downtrodden, lacking in spiritual life and zeal, and in a minority of ten to one. This is perfectly true, and it is here that the Church of England has a grave duty and responsibility laid upon her, from which she dare not shrink.

The British occupation of Egypt, which was not sought for, but was rather forced upon us by political and diplomatic necessity, has opened out for the Anglican Church an opportunity for promoting the Kingdom of Christ in that country, from which it would be little short of a crime for her to withdraw. The relations between ourselves and the authorities of the Coptic Church are (and for this Bishop Blyth is largely responsible) not merely amicable, but cordial and fraternal. The suspicion of proselytising designs on the native Christians, which neutralises, or at least seriously hinders, the influence both of the Romanists and the Nonconformists who labour in their midst, is not felt in regard to the Church of England, and thus we are in a position to proffer our help and advice without being misunderstood.

Several attempts have been made in the past to raise the standard of theology among the Copts, and to inspire both priests and people with a deeper sense of personal religion, and a greater zeal for the truth. But these efforts have been spasmodic and intermittent, and have been allowed to drop because of the apathy and indifference of Church people at home.

A vast responsibility will, under God, be laid upon the new Bishop for Egypt, as soon as the present steps for constituting Egypt and the Soudan a separate jurisdiction are completed. He will be able to devote all his time and energy to coping with the overwhelming problems that will be submitted to him for solution, whereas Bishop Blyth has had, in addition, the charge of the engrossing and arduous work of his Palestine missions.

(A) The primary and most pressing duty of the Bishop, after his consecration, will be to make adequate provision for the spiritual needs of the Anglican congregations throughout the Delta and the valley of the Nile. At present there are six permanent chaplaincies, and some five or six which are served during the winter months. But the number of

places which need at least occasional ministrations is increasing yearly, and a fund should be at once started for maintaining a body of "peripatetic" chaplains, who would pay periodical visits to these various centres, until such time as they were able to make the financial arrangements that would allow of the support of a season chaplain.

These itinerant preachers might ultimately, if the Anglican Church at Cairo could be enlarged to form a Cathedral (the accommodation is now totally inadequate for the number of worshippers, when the visitors are added to the residents), become the Canons of the Cathedral establishment, and efforts might gradually be made to raise endowments for the various stalls. When it is remembered that the British settlers in Egypt in 1882 numbered 6000, and that in 1897 they had increased to 14,000 (exclusive of the army of occupation), it will be readily understood that the responsibilities of the Anglican Bishop to provide for the religious wants of his flock are becoming annually more heavy.

(B) In view of the contemplated extension of Government schools in Egypt—a scheme is in process of development for this purpose—the influence of the Bishop, acting in conjunction with Lord Cromer, might usefully be directed towards securing the recognition of our Anglican schools as part of the official educational system, by placing them under Government inspection, and allowing them to earn State grants. It is by no means improbable that, if this plan were successful, the authorities of the Coptic and Greek Churches would follow our example, and an enormous impetus would thus be given to the cause of secular education. The important question of adequate religious instruction might then be taken in hand by a joint committee, consisting of members of the three principal branches of the Christian Church represented in Egypt (the Roman Catholics and the American Presbyterians should, of course, be invited to co-

operate), and this would pave the way for a more comprehensive scheme of joint Christian action in the future.

It is certain that a policy of this kind would be enormously beneficial to the cause of Christianity, and yet could be carried out without arousing the animosity or opposition of the Moslem authorities. But it would be necessary that it should be developed slowly and tactfully; that infinite care should be taken to avoid even the appearance of revolutionising the conservative methods of the native Churches; and that each step should be taken with the entire concurrence and approval of the British representative.

(c) While the jurisdiction of the new Bishop will extend to the Soudan, it will probably be several years before, in the opinion of the responsible authorities, it will be permissible for any bodies of Western Christians to undertake missionary work in that country. Sooner or later, however, the door will be opened, and, when the time comes, the restraining influence of the Bishop will be invaluable—assuming always that he thoroughly appreciates the delicacy and difficulties of the position—in regulating the various movements, in discouraging independent effort, and in moderating undue, and therefore dangerous, zeal. And, in the meantime, he will be able, in many quiet, unobtrusive ways, to strengthen the position of the Coptic Church, and to render aid to the Coptic Bishop.

Although the establishment of an Anglican base of operations in the Soudan may be delayed, Bishop Blyth had communicated with Lord Kitchener, before he resigned his position as Sirdar, as to the allocation of a suitable site for this purpose. During my recent visit to Egypt, I discussed the matter with Sir Francis Wingate, who had succeeded Lord Kitchener as Sirdar and Governor-General of the Soudan, and I subsequently wrote to Lord Cromer, asking him if it would be possible to arrange for a plot of ground to be inalienably set apart for an Anglican Church and residence,

until such time as it could be taken possession of and utilised. A few weeks later he wrote to me, enclosing the letter from the Sirdar, printed above,[1] which removed all doubt or anxiety on this score.

The ground in question is close to the Sirdar's palace, in the very centre of the town, and about two minutes' walk from the bank of the river.

On the opposite page is given the only existing map of Khartoum, which shews the site of the new Coptic church and schools, and the position of the land allocated by the authorities for the use of the Anglican Church. This interesting plan I have been able to produce from a sketch, and information, kindly supplied to me by the Sirdar.

(D) Another duty—and perhaps the most important of all, so far as the future of Christianity in Egypt is concerned—which the new Bishop will have to face, is the strengthening and extending of the relations at present existing between the Anglican and the Coptic Churches. He will commence his labours under the most encouraging auspices. The ground has already been prepared, and it will rest with him to build up an enduring edifice of mutual esteem and co-operation.

"Festina lente" must be his motto. He must not chafe at the deliberation with which the Oriental approaches any question of change or reform. He must exercise infinite patience in his dealings with the ecclesiastical authorities.

But, if he is successful; if he is enabled, through the Divine guidance, to infuse a greater measure of spiritual zeal and earnestness into the religious life of the Coptic Christians; if he can bring about an improvement in the education and training of the priests; if he slowly, but surely, assists the native bishops to raise the people to a truer realisation of their position as baptized members of Christ; what will be the outcome?

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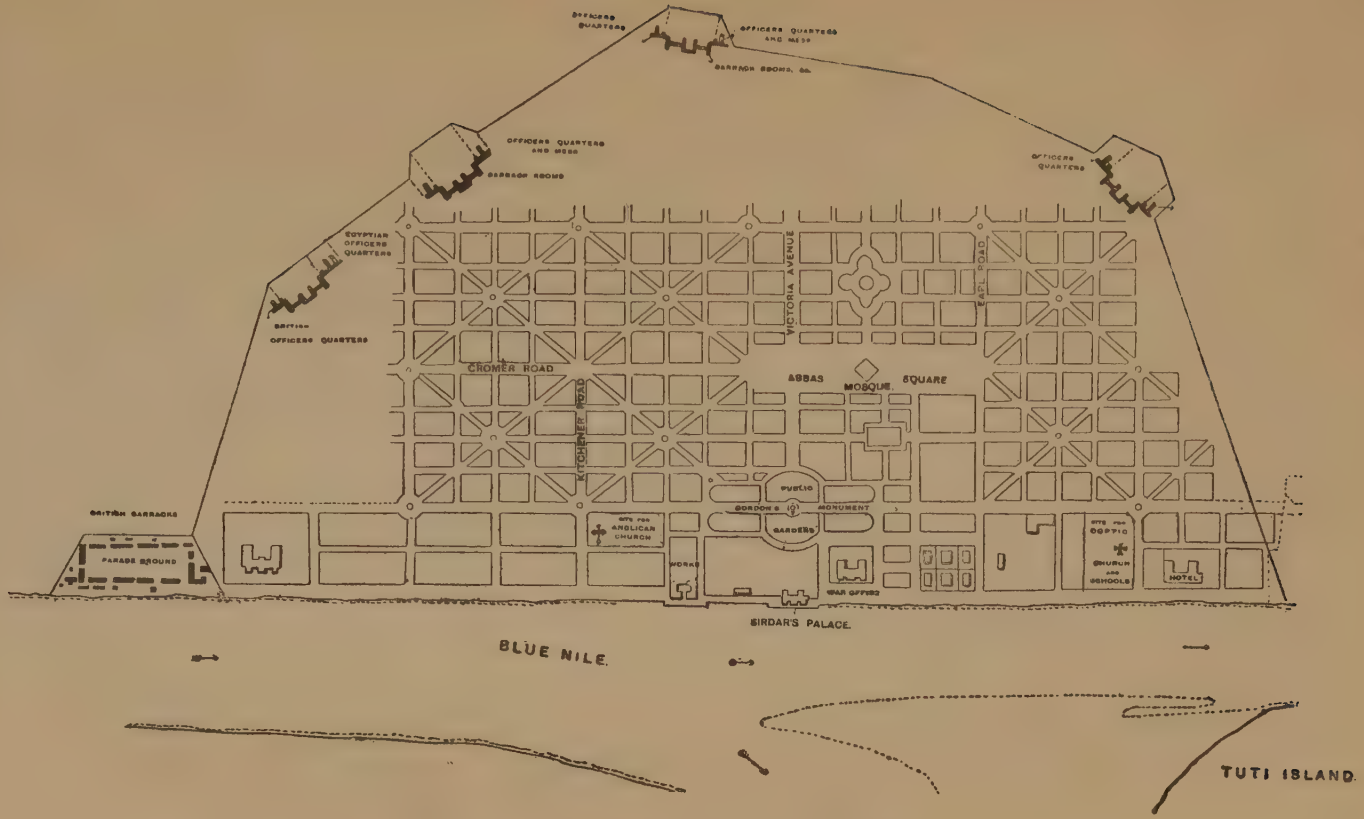
[1] See p. 142.



PLAN OF THE NEW CITY OF KHARTOUM.

The result may be—and it is the hope and aspiration of the Christian world that it will be—that this oppressed and down-trodden Church, which has suffered so grievously in the past, and has often been on the point of extermination, will become the instrument in God's hands for holding up the light of the Gospel in the dark places of the Mohammedan world, and for bringing home to the minds and consciences of its Moslem fellow-citizens the glorious tidings of our redemption by the Incarnation, the Death, and the Resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Such a picture may seem visionary to those who only look to outward signs, and who see, by superficial observation during a two months' visit to Egypt, that the native Christian Church is in a small minority, and that it presents no striking superiority of religion or morals over the non-Christian population. But the rapid spread of the Faith during the early centuries of Christianity was accomplished in face of far greater, and more apparently insuperable, obstacles than would be met with at the present time. And, as Egypt now furnishes the largest and most influential missionary establishment in the world for the propagation of Mohammedanism,[1] so Egypt may, in the not distant future, be the centre whence will radiate that "Light of the World" which alone can illumine the dark places of the earth.

If the Anglican Church is true to herself, true to her glorious history, and true to her God, she will be permitted to have her share in this grand work. But she must not shrink from the sacrifice, of time, of money, of labour; and she must render ungrudging support to those who, on her behalf, are to take their places in the forefront of the battle. So will she have her part in bringing about, as far at least as Egypt is concerned, the prediction of the old Evangelical prophet, that "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."[2]

[1] See p. 80.

[2] Isaiah xi. 9.

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